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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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## SIGNPOSTS FOR LABOR

### AIDS TO PICK WAY THROUGH CAPITALIST LABYRINTH.

Lesson from Brazilian Navy Mutiny—Swine Rend Swine in Election Aftermath—Showworkers' Bitter Experience with Tobin's Organization.

There is just one important fact revealed by the armed strike of the crews of the Brazilian battleships for better pay and proper treatment. The Rio de Janeiro despatches announce that "the crowd of sight-seers, gathered on the quays and heights, expressed wonder at the dexterity with which the huge ships were handled. It was difficult to believe that there was not a single officer aboard." In other words, the strike which began with the landing of all the officers, overthrew the popular superstition that the ships were "operated" by the officers; it established the fact that the real operators of the ships are the proletarians on board, the non-proletarian element on the ships being purely parasitical ornaments—just as in the factories, mills and shops of bourgeoisdom. This is the vital fact, the most important fact that the "mutiny" revealed. Nor should the smoke of the battle be allowed to hide this vital fact.

Much fun is being made in some "literary circles of society" about the young infantry captain who is the "son of a Standard Oil magnate" and who reports from Europe the certainty of a war between the United States and Japan. These fun-makers seem to forget that Standard Oilism covers a multitude of defects, the defect of youth and inexperience among others. It is the Standard Oil that is responsible for the disgraceful extradition treaty between Russia and this country, whereby our Government is lowered to the level of a Russian bloodhound. It is the Standard Oil, jointly with the Sugar Trust that was responsible for our war with Spain. If Standard Oil interests demand it, Japan and the United States will fly at each other's throat—none the less bloodily because the flying was foretold by "a young militia captain, the son of a Standard Oil magnate."

The Governors and Governors-elect of the forty-six States of the Union are announced to meet at Frankfort, Ky., in what has come to be called the "House of Governors." A curious manifestation this is—the "House of Governors." At the same season when a move is general for "State-wide" primaries, to the end of stripping power from politicians and place nominations in the hands of the voters themselves—at this very season a third "House," the "House of Governors," a "House" not known by the Constitution, is rising and threatening by its very existence the existence of Congress. Now, Congress consists of two branches, an "aristocratic" and a "plebeian." Which of the two Houses of Congress is the "House of Governors" to undertake, the "aristocratic" or the "plebeian"? Which suggests the further inquiry—Is the "House of Governors" intended to strengthen the State-wide primary move, or is it intended to counteract the same?

A post election lawsuit, brought in Tacoma, Wash., by the firm of C. H. Manley against the Pierce County Democratic organization makes some interesting revelations both upon the Democratic politicians and upon dealers in cigars. The dealers furnished to the Democratic organization 2,000 2-cent cigars. Some people may say: "How mean those politicians are! They try to rope in voters with smokers, and the smokers are worth only 2 cents, and then they refuse to pay the bill." Others, without denying the force of these observations will say: "How fraudulent these dealers are! They roll cabbage leaves into the shape of cigars, and demand the assistance of the courts to enforce the cheat."—There is still a third set of people. The third set look from the fraudulent politician to the fraudulent dealer, and from the fraudulent dealer back to the fraudulent politician, and say: "Swine rend swine."

The Spokane "Labor World" for the 11th of last month has a two column-wide front page article on "How Corporations Exploit Favors from Passes." The article quotes a Mr. Hecker, vice president of the Washington Water Power Company, as saying: "The reason why we carry policemen is

that we might be sure of their protection if our men should strike; and we carry firemen so that they will not stretch their hose over our tracks and tie up traffic."

This is a valuable contribution to the literature of "passes" made by the "Labor World," and the contribution is all the more valuable seeing that the paper is an organ of David C. Coates, the gentleman who in the Socialist Labor Party pamphlet "Behind the Scenes" is shown up to have been on the annual pass list in Colorado of the Union Pacific Railroad Company at the time when he was a member of the Colorado Legislature as a "Friend of Labor."

Too choice not to be framed up—

There is a poor, old repudiated professor in New York who is clamoring for "unity." He happens to be editor of a sheet that is strongly suspected of receiving financial encouragement from W. R. Hearst. But a short time ago this professor declared that the S. L. P., or the party of Hearst, would be the party of the future and now the despondent professor is again yelling for unity with the Socialist party, which he has branded as ally of capitalism. "Consistency, thou art a jewel." The professor must see obscurity yawning for him, and in his desperation to remain in the limelight, cries for "unity."

The professor should link his fortunes with the Salvation Army and in time his hypocrisy may merit recognition from General Booth.

"Miners Magazine," Denver, Colo., Nov. 3, 1910. John M. O'Neill, Editor.

There is more than dissatisfaction against John Tobin's A. F. of L. Boot and Shoe Workers' Union in Brooklyn. There is open revolt. The men are tearing up their cards, and plumply declare that the Union is in conspiracy with the employers to keep the workers down—exactly the language that the Daily People has again and again held with regard to this Tobin, a Socialist party man, who, together with his party men, ever answered the charge with: "The S. L. P. is a Union wrecker!" The "Union Wreckers"—wreckers of capitalist bogus Unions—are coming—they are coming, Father Abraham, many a hundred thousand strong.

James J. Hill expresses the opinion that "demagogic politicians might take a lesson from the election returns, and be more careful in the future before they run away from good common sense"—of course meaning Roosevelt, and, of course forgetful of the fact that Insurgents won out wherever frankly fought for.

Two days after polished Berlin dames in evening dress scrambled in a restaurant for gold fish an inebriated millionaire spilled out by diving naked into an aquarium while the gaiety of the resort was at its height, four "representative citizens" of North Bergen, N. J., are indicted for arranging and attending a banquet at which unveiled actresses appeared as the piece de resistance. The social conditions which decree that wealth can only be attained by out-and-out swindle of the alleged Burr type or merciless exploitation à la Carnegie, also decree that the weakened moral fiber necessary to such wealth-acquisition betray itself in displays such as the foregoing.

Ellen, a struggling art student, in her destitute East Side tenement; Ellen, applying at the Art School for tuition, rejected for lack of a \$100 fee; Ellen followed by Jordan, a wealthy idler who decides to slum it to "help" her; Ellen's design for a new Red Cross charity stamp accepted; Ellen receives the \$100 prize from Jordan, this time in his Fifth Avenue costume; wedding bells for Ellen and Jordan; such is a new moving picture film sent out by the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, in its "campaign against lung disease." Only one scene is lacking to the film—an introductory one, showing the shop in which Jordan's wage slaves are bending over their tasks, acquiring the tuberculosis which their exploiter will later pose as a hero "campaigning" against, with the aid of the wealth he has expropriated them of.

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THE BORED FROM WITHIN

## ECHOES FROM ST. LOUIS

[The below article was first published in these columns on December 16, 1900. It was that year entitled "Echoes from Louisville, Ky." The article was a pictorial synopsis of the "Debate on Socialism" that took place at the Louisville convention of the A. F. of L. of that year. That synopsis portrayed so graphically, philosophically and lucidly, not the "Debate" of that year only, but also the previous nine periodically recurring "Debates on Socialism" in the annual convention of the A. F. of L.; in fact, it was such a graphic photograph of the downright farcical principle which underlies these A. F. of L. "Debates on Socialism," and that is bound to continue to underlie them so long as the A. F. of L. continues to exist, that it has since been reproduced in these columns from year to year, headed by the above cartoon, and with the promise and forecast that it will continue to reappear in these columns from year to year until the day shall have come when—emancipated by Socialist Labor Party consistent and persistent teaching from the intellectual thralldom that to-day holds the bulk of the toilers under the yoke of the Labor fakir, the Labor-Lieutenant of the capitalist class—the working class of the land shall have risen in their might and overthrow for all time the scabby crew of freaks and frauds that annually meets to "debate" Socialism at these A. F. of L. conventions, that is, at these annual Auction Sales of Labor. The below synopsis was, accordingly, republished in 1901 under the title "Echoes from Scranton," in 1902 under the title "Echoes from New Orleans," in 1903 under the title "Echoes from Boston," in 1904 under the title "Echoes from Frisco," in 1905 under the title "Echoes from Pittsburgh," in 1906 under the title "Echoes from Minneapolis," in 1907 under the title "Echoes from Norfolk," in 1908 under the title "Echoes from Denver," and in 1909 under the title "Echoes from Toronto." In obedience to the promise made in 1900, and in keeping with the facts, which every intelligent man, if honest, and every honest man, if intelligent, knew would substantially recur, the synopsis is again reproduced this year and with the same promise and forecast for the future, under the title "Echoes from St. Louis," where the A. F. of L. convention met this fall.]

The undaunted dozen threw themselves valiantly into the fray for Socialism at the American Federation of Labor convention. The fray was partly on the floor of the convention hall, partly in the brains of some of the contestants, but mostly on the reputations of those who fought the good fight. There were in appearance only two sets of contestants. In fact there were three. There were, in the first place, the stalwarts who never blanchied in the

face of the most terrible wrong, when they did it themselves, and who never retracted unless somebody said something after their first set up. They were the solid phalanx, the "staunch defenders of Socialism" at every convention of the American Federation of Labor, but whose Socialism was afflicted with a strong taint of Republicanism or Democracy as soon as it was over. This did not matter, because they were Socialists again as, soon as another convention came. That was the first set.

On the other side were the men who "opposed" Socialism, and would be terribly offended if it did not make its appearance. For this reason it was always slated to appear, and that it might give offense to none it appeared in such disguise that those to whom it was most dear would never recognize it. It had been the center of many a stirring fight, and then its mangled remains were taken out and placed in cold storage for future reference. That was the second set.

Then commenced the battle royal. The two first sets of men lined up on each side determined to discuss that resolution if it took a whole week at \$6 a day, expenses to be paid by their constituents. There were many hard blows given and taken, and there were many, many blowers who gave them. It was so strange and weird that contestants should all have the same object. Of these first two sets, those who supported the resolution did so in order to defeat it; those who opposed it, did so in order to do the same. Between the two there was a weak puny handful of men, that third set, the gudgeons, who believed that the fight was in earnest—and so it was. It was carried on for the sake of that handful of men. It was carried on so that they might return home and say: "Behold how Socialism is on the increase. Last year at the convention of the Federation we discussed it for 47 hours and 16 min-

utes. This year we discussed it for 47 hours and 22 minutes, a net increase of six minutes. There is nothing can hold us back."

When the contest was over, and the vote showed that the Federation would not resolve in favor of Socialism, the fighters, still with the smoke of battle and non-union cigars on them, separated in two "hostile" bodies. One, made up of the two sets of the sham combatants on both sides, made its way to a saloon where ten cent whiskey was sold; the other, made up of the gudgeons who bore and are bored from within, went to a saloon which dispensed five cent whiskey. Then both sides recounted their victory.

"Did you notice," said Gompers when he had filled his glass, after draining in a surreptitious manner the glasses of those about him, "how tractable those fellows become as soon as you let them discuss a thing, and then vote it down? It is the easiest thing in the world. All you have to do is let them talk on a subject and then throw it aside. They are satisfied with the talk." The good cheer satisfied his heart. "Next year, so help me Moses, we'll give them an increase in their vote. They have been very good boys this year, and they deserve some recognition. We humored them just to have them do all the dirty work this year, and they should not go unrewarded. I shall see that they have two more supporters when we meet again. They are becoming tamer and should be rewarded."

In the other saloon the "triumphant hosts of Socialism," that believed in the free and unlimited coinage of words, sat along the table and vowed death to the capitalist system, and carried out their threat "in our time" by gulping down the products of capitalism.

"Did you notice," said one, "how they quailed when we accused them of not being Socialists?"

"Yes," said another, "we shall win. Why, one man came to me and gave me a dollar to start a colony on Hudson Bay. That could not happen if we jumped on him for thinking differently."

"You got a dollar?"

"Yes, a dollar."

There was a short pause, and those about the table commenced to come nearer to him. It would be impossible to take a trolley car to Hudson Bay to enjoy the fruits of Socialism, but the dollar was still on the premises. It might be a bank note, it might be a silver certificate, and it might be simply two vulgar half dollars. But in sum and substance at any place it would be converted into twenty foaming schooners.

There was a motion put. It was carried, and again peace reigned about the banquet board, but the dollar had de-

(Continued on page six.)

## THE S. L. P. VOTE

Probably More Than Doubled.

Below is a preliminary table of the vote polled this year by the S. L. P. by States, as reported in advance by the Election Returning Boards. As further advance returns come in they will be inserted in the list. The Party had its ticket this year in twenty states, four more than in 1908. In the eight states so far reported the Party's vote already exceeds the total of 1908 by 2,079. For the corresponding eight states the increase is 11,312.

The vote for Kentucky in 1908 was for State nominees. This year the Party had only a Congressional ticket in that State. Altho' the vote polled is less than in 1908, this year's vote exceeds the poll of 1908 in that Congressional District by 58. In Pennsylvania the Party was compelled by the authorities to appear under a new name:

States	1910	1908
Connecticut	937	698
Indiana	2,974	643
Kentucky	213	404
Minnesota	6,510	...
Missouri	2,229	888
New Jersey	2,032	1,096
Pennsylvania	794	1,232
Rhode Island	628	183
Total	16,316	5,024

## MINNESOTA TO THE FORE.

Gives 6,510 Votes to Socialist Labor Party.

St. Paul, Minn., November 27.—Charles W. Brandborg, Socialist Labor Party candidate for Governor, received 6,510 votes in this year's election.

The election laws of this state require a political party, which files nominations by petition, to cast one per cent. of the total vote in a general election to enable it to gain legal standing. The total vote in this year's election was 123,418. Thus legal standing for the S. L. P. here is assured.

Forward comrades with the revolutionary propaganda of the S. L. P. W. E. McCue.

## 1,032 in New Jersey.

Elizabeth, N. J., November 25.—The vote in this State in the last election was S. P. 10,164; in 1908 that party had 10,249; thus it loses 84 votes. The S. L. P. received 2,032; in 1908 the Party had 1,196. Thus we gain 846. The vote of the S. L. P. by counties this year follows:

Atlantic, 26; Bergen, 54; Burlington, 19; Camden, 146; Cape May, 6; Cumberland, 18; Essex, 430; Gloucester, 20; Hudson, 590; Hunterdon, 12; Mercer, 92; Middlesex, 36; Monmouth, 18; Morris, 25; Ocean, 1; Passaic, 357; Salem, 8; Somerset, 21; Sussex, 5; Union, 181; Warren, 9.

## Kansas City's 100 Per Cent. Increase.

Kansas City, Mo., November 22.—In Jackson County, in which this city is located, the S. L. P. received 196 votes. In 1908 we had less than a hundred.

## St. Paul Vote.

St. Paul, November 23.—In Ramsey County, in which this city is situated, the vote for Brandborg, S. L. P. candidate for Governor is given out as 929.

(Continued on page two.)

## "NEPAKARAT" REPUDIATED.

N. E. C. Sub-Committee of the S. L. P. Takes Prompt Action.

At last Wednesday's session of the Sub-Committee of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, the following resolution, repudiating "Nepakar," the organ of the Hungarian Federation, was passed:

"Whereas, The officers of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation refused to comply with the demands made by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party in session, July, 1910, Resolved, That the Sub-Committee of the N. E. C. of the S. L. P., acting in accordance with the power conferred upon it by the N. E. C., hereby repudiates the organ of said Hungarian S. L. P., "Nepakar," as an organ of the S. L. P."

The new organ started by the newly organized Hungarian Federation of the Socialist Labor Party is "A Munkas" (The Worker), the subscription price to which is \$1 per year; address all money to S. Lefkovits, 450 East Eighty-first street, New York City.

## THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

FACTS GATHERED AT RECENT ST. LOUIS GATHERING.

"Boring from Within" Collapses, Admits Berger—Industrialism Howled Down—Body Stands Faithful Guard Over Capitalist System—Clerical Politics.

St. Louis, November 27.—The Gompers' machine smoothly completed its work. Berger issued an interview which established the final collapse of the "Borers from within." He attempted to cover up and excuse the S. P.'s running away from the fight by stating that "Socialists have no right to interfere with the work of the unions, whatever they do."

In addition to the capitalist court injunctions against boycotts, the A. F. of L. unions will find themselves further tied up by their own organization, for the convention has stripped local unions and central bodies of the power to boycott. These must get the consent of the international officers and the Executive Council.

Exclusion of Asiatic labor was unanimously upheld.

The American Federation of Labor re-elected President Gompers and its other officers without opposition yesterday and chose Atlanta for the 1911 convention.

After a contest lasting seven hours over the admission of the Western Federation of Miners to the American Federation of Labor, with jurisdiction over all men permanently employed in the mines, the disputed problem was referred to the executive council with power to act, the vote being 7,793 to refer and 7,107 to fight it out in the council chamber. The executive council will meet here to-day, with Charles Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners, James O'Connell, president of the International Association of Machinists, and others interested to consider the matter. Moyer's success is improbable.

President Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners has declared that he cannot accept the charter under the American Federation of Labor without his organization retains jurisdiction over all men employed in the Western mines.

The Executive Council favored exempting O'Connell's Machinists' organization. An amendment was proposed which exempted all other crafts affected. Mitchell, T. Lewis, and others of the United Mine Workers, opposed all exemptions.

President O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists is emphatic in his statement that his organization will withdraw from the American Federation of Labor if the Western miners are admitted under the same conditions as the United Mine Workers of America, which has control of all hands permanently engaged in the coal mines.

At the psychological moment O'Connell raised a constitutional question. Gompers overruled it. An appeal was taken, but he was sustained. The whole matter was finally referred to the Executive Council, as stated above.

After more work of scattering the organized labor forces, the convention adjourned by re-electing all the former officers with tedious unanimity.

B. Reinstein.

## NO INDUSTRIALISM IN A. F. OF L.

Convention Drowns with Roar Industrialist Resolution.

St. Louis, November 21.—The American Federation of Labor, the "bulwark against Socialism in America," as the Wall Street Journal fittingly entitled that organization, is in good working order, and earning its title. The Socialist partyites are cutting a poor figure, though they claim fifty delegates. Berger, Barnes and the rest of the S. P. leading "lights" completely effaced themselves. The smaller S. P. "lights" tried to break a few lances against craft autonomy, and got broken instead.

The resolution on which the S. P. men made their stand this year was Resolution No. 70, handed in by A. Abrahams, of the Central Federated Union of New York. The resolution obviously leaned towards industrialism, and embodied in substance the points which the Socialist Labor Party and the I. W. W. have been scoring against the A. F. of L. The resolution called for the appointing of a committee to bring recommendations to



so reconstruct the constitution of the A. F. of L. as to have it organized in such a way that at strikes kindred unions could be kept from remaining at work, that is, from scabbing. To-day the grand battle was waged. Duncan's Resolution Committee, to which Abrahams' resolution had been referred reported it adversely, recommending its rejection. Abrahams made a speech in its favor, but his speech was timid, apologetic and coaxing. A couple more weak and flat speeches were made in behalf of the resolution. Max Hayes carried water on both shoulders, but wound up by casting his lot with Duncan. And then after Gompers' and Duncan's bombastic speeches about "practical," "militant unionism," and "dangerous," "tyrannical," "Knights of Labor powers," Abrahams' resolution was thundered down against a couple of faint "noes," without even a raising of hands.

B. Reinstein.

## A. F. OF L. CONVENTION.

## Stands Faithful Guard Over Capitalist System.

St. Louis, November 22.—The present annual convention of the American Federation of Labor is evidently bound to dash to the ground whatever hopes and expectations the innocents might have entertained regarding a radical step forward by this body. The crushing paralyzing blows pure and simple Unionism has received during the last year or two at the hands of big corporations and their courts, from the U. S. Supreme Court down, has not aroused them to the realization of their duties towards the toiling masses, whose cause they imagine and claim to champion. One big strike after another is crushed; boycotting declared illegal; unions in their collectivity as well as individual members of unions held liable for the "damages caused the employers by strikes, boycotts," etc.; picketing enjoined, and even girl pickets clubbed and martyred by courts; the very thought of a strike declared to be a criminal act;—and, after all that, one hears and observes at this gathering of nearly four hundred labor leaders nothing but bombastic phrases by Gompers and his lieutenants; a determination on the part of these masters of situation to nip in the bud every attempt to inject into the Federation a more healthy spirit, or prompt it to a more truly working class posture. And the more innocent, unsophisticated part of their followers gets enthused over the sham and the phrases, and supports with admiration their "grand old man" and his satellites.

To the same disappointment are evidently doomed the expectations of those other innocents, in the camp of the Socialist party, who imagined that the largely increased vote of that party and the enhancement of their prestige by Berger's election to Congress and other electoral victories would result in their increased influence for good within this Federation. The expectation of these innocents in the S. P. that these electoral triumphs would effect a more determined and effective attempt on the part of their leaders to scale or break down this protective wall of the system of wage slavery—that that expectation will be verified there is no evidence here.

On the contrary, though such big lights of that party are here as Berger himself, J. Mahlon Barnes, their National Secretary, Max Hayes of the Typographical Union, Frank J. Hayes, vice president of the United Mine Workers, and although this Frank J. Hayes and Berger, in answer to my question, estimated that they had about fifty members of their party among the delegates, that S. P. contingent, as a whole, is criminally, connivantly silent or disgustingly timid when questions of vital importance to the Union Movement are transacted.

Berger and most of his followers here in their relation to Gompers and his crowd, seem to have chosen for their motto the famous principle of Artemus Ward: "You scratch my back and I'll scratch your back." Berger's "Milwaukee idea" of "two arms to the movement," economic and political, one not interfering with the other," translated into plain language, amounts evidently to this: "You, union leaders, leave us in full charge of the political field and we will leave you in full charge of the economic field. You permit us to recruit in your midst members for our party, voters for our candidates, solicit contributions from union treasuries to our campaign funds and to our privately owned papers by direct donations or ads. of Union Labels, or purchase of stock in our publishing associations,—you permit us to do all that,—you need not endorse us—we can take care of that ourselves,—and in return 'for services rendered' we will help you to get and keep crowds of high initiation, high dues and assessment paying wage slaves of both sexes and all ages, that you may lead them and do

with them whatever you want."

"You hold the banner of Union Labor in your hands; and, although, between us, frankly speaking, we know that you, the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class and apostles of 'harmony between Capital and Labor,' have usurped and are desecrating that banner, the same as we have usurped the red banner of Socialism, which we hold in our hands, and are desecrating by identifying ourselves with you and refraining from exposing you to the working class for what you are, still we will faithfully carry out our part of the agreement. We will bow to your union labor banner, and lend color to it through our own red banner of Socialism. We will place at your disposal the enthusiasm our banner arouses, the admiration and confidence it inspires in the hearts of the awakening proletariat. We will use our influence with the increasing numbers of our followers and will not only grace your unions and your conventions with our presence, but will keep repeating to our followers: 'In union is strength' Join the union of your craft!'"

"Once you get our followers in your unions or, rather, 'our unions,' it is no longer our business what you do there on your own field, the economic field. You may continue to permeate the atmosphere there with the false spirit of 'identity of interests of Capital and Labor'; you may monopolize the best jobs for yourselves by keeping the bulk of the working class, outside the pale of organized labor through the wall of high initiation fees, and dues, and 'trade examinations'; you may violate the principles of International Solidarity of the working class by advocating anti-immigration policies—we will even support you in that by advocating the same from our rostrums, in our press, in our platforms, in our party councils and conventions. You may drive the boys and girls even of your own members into the ranks of criminals and prostitutes by the antiquated guild system of apprenticeship. You may dislocate the ranks of organized labor by the system of a hundred of more 'autonomous international craft unions' related to each other only as members of a 'voluntary association.' You may sell out and terrorize the members by means of label agreements with employers. You may paralyze the forces of organized labor and tyrannize rebellious members in the ranks by innumerable, separate and independent trade contracts. You may even let unions exhaust themselves in innumerable and interminable jurisdiction fights, let individual members or unions of different or the same crafts scab it on each other, drag each other into courts, bribe and even shoot each other—you may do all this and more and, no matter what we think about it, whether we like it or not, we will not interfere for 'one hand must not interfere with the other.'"

This is clearly the rooted, firmly established and well understood and mutually enjoyed arrangement between the Gompers forces and the Berger forces, here and elsewhere.

Gompers does not care what Berger does on the political arena so long as he does not seriously butt into his economic field. And Berger, Barnes, etc., leave Gompers now "well enough alone." If here and there a faint discordant note is struck it comes from a less "diplomatic and tactful" smaller light of the S. P., and it soon ineffectively dies out.

When I asked Berger whether he or his comrades intend to introduce a Socialist resolution to bring out the Socialist strength at this convention, he said: "No, what is the use!" And he, Barnes, etc., are so far effacing themselves. Whether it is a case of "sour grapes" with Berger, or the result of experience, I don't know; but I could not help thinking that if it is "no use" to make a serious attempt to "bore within" the A. F. of L. convention with a company of about fifty delegates, then the only reason for their being here at all is to take off the shoulders of Gompers, etc., their share of responsibility and, generally, to deliver the goods.

And while Berger, Barnes, etc., have practically nothing to say, either on the floor of the convention or outside, as to any defects in the structure, spirit, methods or leadership of the A. F. of L., except when it crosses their political aspirations, the merry war in the ranks of the Federation, between crafts, factions of crafts and individuals, between these children of Papa Gompers and Mama Berger—goes on, as reflected by the following couple of items culled out of a stack of items reflecting the same situation.

The printed report of the Fifth Day's proceedings of this convention contains on the first page the following telegram, which, by the way, Gompers attempted to withhold from being read and incorporated in the proceedings; but upon demand of the delegate who sent it, he, Gompers, had to read:

"Secretary Morrison read the following

telegram:

"Los Angeles, Cal., November 16, 1910.

"Samuel Gompers, Convention Hall, St. Louis, greetings:

"Whereas, Other Building Trades Craft and Structural Iron Workers of Los Angeles are on strike, and

"Whereas, Other Building Trades Craft remained at work on struck jobs, and in some cases handled struck work; therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the strikers in mass meeting assembled, that we ask the convention to demand that all departments of American Federation of Labor see that all union men cease work on struck jobs, and, be it

"Resolved, That Los Angeles strikers do declare our intention to continue our fight for eight-hour day on the Pacific Coast.

"E. H. Misner, Chairman."

On the same page the following item appears, echoing the battle between the Reed faction and the McNulty faction of the International Brotherhood (?) of Electrical Workers:

"Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"Portland, Oregon, November 13, 1910.

"D. W. Robinson, Planters Hotel, Care Secretary Morrison, St. Louis, Mo.:

"To the American Federation of Labor, greetings:

"Organized labor of the city of Portland and State of Oregon call on your convention now in session to use every endeavor to adjust the differences between the two factions of the I. B. E. W., that this great organization of union men may be brought together that thereby this blot on the escutcheon of trades unionism may be removed.

"Central Labor Council of Portland and vicinity.

"M. Olney, Secretary."

And a still louder echo of this fight was heard through the following dispatch in last Saturday's "St. Louis Globe-Democrat":

"UNION'S WRANGLE

"LEADS TO SHOOTING

"Reed Man Wounds McNulty Partisan in Electric Workers' Row.

"OUTBREAK IN CHICAGO

"Fight Occupies A. F. L. Convention—Regular Faction Wins Victory.

"A shooting which may end in murder occurred in Chicago last night as the result of the controversy between the McNulty and Reed factions of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which occupied the attention of the entire session of the convention of the American Federation of Labor in St. Louis yesterday, and resulted in the defeat of the Reed faction, when the regulars, as the McNulty followers are known, succeeded in getting the question of recognition for the Reed faction referred to the Executive Council yesterday, after a stormy debate.

In Chicago, Claud Howard, aged 24, affiliated with the McNulty faction, was shot and probably fatally wounded by John Carbon, who claims St. Louis as his home. According to dispatches, the trouble was due to Carbon, who is affiliated with the Reed faction, accepting a position as strike breaker in a factory from which the Howard and McNulty men had gone out on strike. The two men met on the street last night, and after a passage of hot words, a shot rang out and Howard fell to the pavement."

Beautiful Brotherhood and unity this! Isn't it, reader? It is the brotherhood of two dogs when one bone is thrown to them. It is the unity of two bulldogs with their teeth firmly set in the quivering flesh of each other. And an organization that inevitably engenders such results all along the line is, according to our Socialist party, friends, "nobly waging the class struggle!"

How long will this sickening condition continue!?

B. Reinstein.

## THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION.

Views Above and the Below the Surface of Things.

St. Louis, November 24.—When I reached St. Louis, Thursday, last week, and got to the convention on the 25th, I saw a man on the stage delivering a strong address to the delegates about the Los Angeles strike and the conduct of the T. M. B. He was speaking with all the studied gestures, the electrical expressions of the eyes, the raising and sinking and trembling of the voice and all the other earmarks of the trained "orator," some might think of the trained comedian. His face was familiar to me but I could not place him. I asked who he was—it was our old friend Job Harriman, "the attorney for the strikers in Los Angeles," the Hillquit of the Pacific coast. When I learned his present capacity I was not surprised any more that I could not recognize him—he looked so much more sleek and prosperous. I also was not surprised when I heard this former running mate of Debs and champion of the Union Labor party versus Socialist party in California, and again of Socialist party here in St. Louis refer to the Civic Federalized craft

union movement as "the only movement that stands between the sordid, insatiable greed of the capitalist class and the working class." Some parts of his speech are worth quoting here for general information.

Describing the "frenzied finance" operations of the top capitalist at Los Angeles, C. P. Huntington, Harriman said: "This man inherited \$40,000,000 in cash and as much more in property, came to the city of Los Angeles, and by means of his influence and his uncle's influence gathered unto himself all the franchises of a large number of streets of the city. He did not pay a dollar except the hand-

out dollars that go to politicians who give away the rights of the people. He went to the Helman interests. You men know the Helman interests. He said to them: 'If you will organize a corporation and bond it I will sell the corporation all these franchises for 51 per cent. of the stock, and you can take 49 per cent. You can bond the company. We will sell the bonds and build the road with the money for which we sell the bonds.' And they did. They built the roads through the city and are now operating them, and neither of them invested one dollar of their own cash, yet they own the stock, and the proceeds from those companies are paying off the debts.

"Then they went out through those beautiful valleys, the San Gabriel, the Santa Anna and the Los Angeles Valley and determined the lines along which they would build roads. Huntington took the \$40,000,000 he had inherited and bought thousands of acres along the proposed lines, then went to the people and said, 'Give us a right of way through here and so much cash and we will build a road to Monrovia, a road to Pomona, a road to Long Beach and a road to Pasadena. We will line these valleys with roads out to your suburban towns. We will make this a great country and your land will be enhanced in value.' The people gave the right of way everywhere and gave so much cash for each road. Then they bonded each road for itself, sold the bonds, took the cash and built the roads without a dollar of expense to themselves. Not a dollar from their own treasury went into them and the lands they bought for \$100 an acre is now worth \$1,000 an acre."

As to the evident cause of the explosion at the Times Building Harriman said:

"I think the evidence already in hand is ample to show that an explosion of gas wrecked the Times Building. Listen, you miners. A man escaped who was immediately below the point where the explosion occurred. He was in the cellar, but nothing fell. All the walls around the place of the explosion stood intact. Not a wall was broken. Glass in the windows across the street remained unbroken. At the time of the explosion there was one deep roar, not a sharp crack, and with that roar there shot up through two floors and a roof a flame that passed the sixth story of the adjoining building instantly upon the explosion. An explosion accompanied by flame, and within ten seconds the flames were through the whole building. They had smelled gas for days, and it was especially strong that day in the building. What was it, you miners? Was it dynamite or was it gas? Every one of them knows that if the shot had been sufficient to shoot a hole up through three stories it would have shattered all the walls about it and driven a hole in the ground."

The sleek, prosperous appearance of another old friend of ours surprised me even more than that of Harriman. It was John F. Tobin, of the Boot and Shoe Workers, against whom I see Brooklyn shoe workers are now in rebellion. It is 15 years ago that I last saw Tobin, when we all, like silly school boys, were rejecting that our comrades in the shoe workers' organization were "boring from within"—as we all were doing at that time—with such good effect that they succeeded in "capturing the organization for Socialism" by electing "Comrade Tobin" to the office of National President of the organization. Little did we imagine that from that day on dated, not the elevation of the organization of the shoe workers to the shoe industry, the height of world-wide Socialism, but the descent of "Comrade Tobin" to the low level of one of the meanest, commonest, and most "union" labels.

No wonder that the former poor underfed slave, whose eyes then sparkled with intellect and bristled with ideas discussing the Labor Problem, looks now like a prosperous, overfed businessman for whom "the Labor Problem is solved." It was a study to see his ponderous figure set in motion when he was aroused by a question affecting his immediate interests. He has lots of trouble from "disrupters" and "secessionists" in the shoe workers' movement, though he sneered at them as an insignificant bunch who "imagine that they can conduct a movement with low initiation fees, low dues, no benefits, etc." When the fight about the Reed faction and McNulty faction in the Electrical Workers was on, Tobin rose and thun-

dered:

"Too much consideration was given the secessionists. We were too easy with them and it was taken as weakness. We have in the shoe workers some few secessionists too. It is not a question of numbers but of principle. I say draw the line on secession in any form or for any excuse, and you will serve notice on secessionists of any kind."

The sleek, well fed appearance of Harriman, Tobin and some other people I knew in former years, at least by sight, as rather underfed people prompted me to examine closer the faces and figures of the well high 400 labor leaders which I saw before me and, while there are not a few thin, poorly dressed people, who are evidently still working or recently were themselves working in the shops, I was struck by the relatively large proportion of leaders "for whom the labor problem is solved." If "materialist conception of history" amounts to anything there is very little hope that these "self-sacrificing champions of labor"—at so much per—will tolerate or take any chances on anything that may in a remotest way endanger the source of their well-being and power.

To understand better what was being enacted before me and to get at the hidden springs which, in addition to those I already knew, were moving the performers, I decided carefully to study not only their physiognomy and general appearance, but their names as well, the bodies they represent, the votes they control in the convention, etc. I then found that while in recent years there sat at the conventions Rev. Charles Stehle, delegate of the "Federal Council of the Churches of Christ" with one vote,—and Rev. Stehle sits now again,—this time, not to be outdone, the Roman Catholic Church smuggled in as a delegate Father Peter E. Dietz, representing the "American Federation of Catholic Societies"—with 2 votes.

This other, by no means accidental or insignificant, fact then revealed itself to me—that of the 387 delegates the names of many more than half show that they are emigrants or descendants of emigrants from the mother of pure-and-simple unionism—Great Britain; and that, with the bulk of these, as the humorous expression goes, "County Cork, Ireland"—and the Roman Catholic Church—was written across the face or across the name. There are here 4 Kelleys, 2 O'Connors, 2 Mitchells, 2 Kennedys, 4 Flynns, 3 Sullivans, 4 Murphies, etc. These children of the Emerald Isle, the same as Rockefeller controls the majority stock of his corporations, control the voting strength of this Federation with Mitchell's United Mine Workers alone controlling 2,337 votes out of the total of 15,428.

These Murphies and Kelleys and Mitchells went last Sunday morning, practically in a body, to the 11 o'clock mass at St. Lawrence O'Toole's Catholic Church and listened reverently to the Archbishop Glennon's denunciation of Socialism as "a philosophy created over the beer mug and wine glass!"

Some other gems in the brilliant address of the "learned and upright" Archbishop were:—

"The doctrine of children in common has back of it parentage in common and that abhorrent idea is the end of civilization."

"Church is the mother of unions."

"Beer mug philosophy makes wolf-men, beware of it."

"We do not want our homes to be absorbed by the State. We have already two such institutions—the Poorhouse and the Penitentiary."

"Capitalists should give" to their employees something of the love and protection which they have for their silver and gold."

"Leo XIII. in his 'Encyclical on Labor' gave the most advanced principles of the time for the solution of labor troubles. The most advanced that any sane man can hold, because they are based upon the teachings of our Savior." Etc., etc.

The strings connecting the "control" element of the American Federation of Labor and their press with the arch-capitalist type Federation have long been exposed and gutted. It is an X-ray machine needed to reveal the strings connecting the "same element" with the Roman Catholic political machine.

Newspapers are often offering their readers prize puzzles. Would the Editor of this paper mind offering the following PRIZE PROBLEM IN ARITHMETIC: In the light of what is known of the A. F. of L. and in the light of the additional facts given above—how many centuries will it take to turn the A. F. of L. from a lightning rod protecting Capitalism to a power for Socialism—unless the persistent agitation of the Socialist Labor Party and millions of leaflets and trainloads of pamphlets that it will have to publish and circulate among the organized and unorganized,—dealing not merely with general wrongs of Capitalism and beauties of Socialism as a S. P. literature, but more specifically with conditions, experiences, records and fail-

cles of craft unionism in each particular trade or industry—will succeed, working from below up, in breaking the spell and hold of the Gompers crew on the American proletariat?

B. Reinstein.

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Eugene Sue wrote a romance which seems to have disappeared in a curious fashion, called "Les Mysteres du Peuple." It is the story of a Gallic family through the ages, told in successive episodes, and, so far as we have been able to read it, is fully as interesting as "The Wandering Jew" or "The Mysteries of Paris." The French edition is pretty hard to find, and only parts have been translated into English. We don't know the reason. One medieval episode, telling of the struggle of the communes for freedom is now translated by Mr. Daniel De Leon, under the title, "The Pilgrim's Shell" (New York Labor News Co.). We trust the success of his effort may be such as to lead him to translate the rest of the romance. It will be the first time the feat has been done in English.—N. Y. Sun.

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## MINNESOTA TO THE FORE.

(Continued from page one.)

Last spring in the city the vote for the S. L. P. man for Mayor was 297, and in the late elections we had 917 for Governor.

Winona, Minn., Leaves S. P. Behind.

Winona, Minn., November 23.—In this county of Winona the S. L. P. got 329 votes at the recent election. The S. P. came through with 48.

Every precinct in the city cast Socialist votes. Two years ago we covered the city six times with 2,000 leaflets, and this seems to have borne fruit.

We received seven new members into the Party.

Onondaga Co., N. Y.

Syracuse, N. Y., November 23.—In Onondaga County the S. L. P. polled 209 votes this year.

Cattaraugus County, N. Y.

Jamestown, N. Y., November 23.—F. E. Passmore, S. L. P. candidate for Governor, gets 60 votes in Cattaraugus County.

25 Votes in Superior.

Superior, Wis., November 23.—Though recording votes for the S. L. P. was done under difficulties, the voting machines

## U. M. W. Moneys in Strikes.

Indianapolis, Ind., November 27.—As the outcome of the many strikes the receipts of the United Mine Workers of America for the fiscal year ending with this month will total \$2,000,000, while the expenditures will be something more than that.

For the preceding year the receipts were in the neighborhood of \$900,000. The extra receipts this year were largely the result of strike assessments and the increased expenditures were due largely to the strikes that have been supported by the union in various parts of the country.

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# Crises in European History

By GUSTAV BANG

- I. The Rise of Christianity.
- II. The Reformation.
- III. The French Revolution.

Translated from the Danish by ARNOLD PETERSEN

(Continued from last week.)

## I. The Rise of Christianity.

(Continued.)

It was a decided proletarian tendency which ran through Christianity in the first centuries of our era, a tendency which theology of later times only succeeded in sophisticating by exercising a most reckless violence against the old traditions. And just as proletarianism was the social ideal which Christianity proclaimed.

It was the communism of property and enjoyment, the communistic conception, which was the natural expression of the social longings of the ancient proletariat, and which in the first Christian congregations was not only proclaimed but practised. It was as yet impossible to form a social ideal of productive socialism—the co-operative commonwealth—because the historical conditions for such an order of society were wholly lacking; consumptive communism, the enjoyment of things in common, became the ideal of the proletarians of those days.

This principle is prominent in the Gospels, and particularly in the "Acts." He who would follow Christ had to give up all his property, donate it to the congregation, and the congregation lived in a common household, maintained through common ownership. It was not a voluntary matter whether or not one should place his belongings at the disposal of the congregation. On the contrary, it was considered a mortal sin to neglect. Ananias and his wife Sapphira were punished with death because they had withheld part of their wealth for their private benefit (Acts 5). The Christian was to be personally propertiless, and only be a member of the common possession. In the "Acts" we find a description of the original Christian congregations, and find them constructed in accordance with the commands of Christ, based upon the ideas of an absolute communistic relation of property and enjoyment.

"And all that believed were together, and had all things in common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need. And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favor with the people. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved." (Acts 2:44-47.)

"Neither was there any among that lacked; for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto

every man according as he had need." (Acts 4:34-35.)

It is conceivable how such a communistic society would absorb the great mass of the starved and oppressed proletarians, not only in Palestine, but also throughout the vast Roman Empire. But it will also be seen that its duration, of necessity, would be short. The number of destitute people to be kept satisfied grew rapidly, but the amount of wealth at disposal increased very slowly. Soon the bottom would be reached. At the beginning they rested content with the idea that Christ would soon return and that the end of the world was at hand. But as time went on the difficulties increased. From the letters of the apostles, particularly those of Paul, we receive a vivid impression of the sharp admonitions which were administered in order to obtain necessities for the support of the poor in the community. Very early, in the course of but a few decades, pure communism disappeared, as in the nature of things it had to, because the class-interests which there found expression, those of the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie, had as yet no future before them. It was changed to a decrepit charity for the support of the clergy at the expense of the congregation; to the sacrament of the Lord's supper as a last remnant of the old-time meals, in which all participated; here and there also to a monastic life and semi-caricatures of the days of the early Christians.

The wealth which was collected for the community was more and more used for the support of that upper class of ecclesiastics who gradually raised themselves above the rest of Christian society, and the clergy made ever greater demands for personal contributions from the members of the congregation. Thus the old Christian communism was gradually transformed into the medieval, exploiting church. Theology simultaneously got busy explaining away and misinterpreting the expressions and statements of the New Testament regarding wealth and poverty, to rob them of their "salt" and adjust the Christian teachings to suit the ruling class in society.

But still, long after there were sects trying to carry the program of ancient Christianity into effect. As late as the close of the Middle Ages the old Christian ideals played their role in the class-struggle. And to-day the accounts given in the "Acts" are condemnatory of the hypocrites of our time, of the hypocrites who endeavor to show, Bible in hand, the right and justification for private property, whereas no Socialist agitator has used stronger language against nor more unmercifully denounced this right than did Christ and his disciples.

## II. The Reformation.

The time about the year 1500 is marked by a long chain of important events and changes which paved the way for all later historical development. The Italian Renaissance had created an elegant and superior art, sparkling with life and beauty; the ideas of humanism, which, from the universities of northern Italy had spread to the countries north of the Alps, gave birth to entirely new scientific conceptions and methods of reasoning; the Lutheran Reformation cleared up in the religious superstition which formerly rested heavily upon the mind. The use of gunpowder, the invention of which was made at about that time, developed an entirely new war-technique, with mass armies of hired infantry making superfluous the heavily armed cavalry of the nobility. The art of printing paved the way for an extension of the cultivation of the minds of the population and put an end to the monopoly on literary knowledge and employment which the clergy until then had enjoyed; the great discoveries of the sea-route to India and of the new continent, which emerged from out of the mists of the Atlantic Ocean, extended the horizon of humanity far beyond its famous narrow limits. All this was accompanied by violent social conflicts which shook the foundation of society, sharp collisions between the various classes. The bourgeoisie and the peasants were struggling for su-

premacy against the ruling classes of the old order, against nobility and clergy. It was a crisis where the old and the new met in desperate combat, old ideals went down and new ones arose; it was one of those epochs of transition where life is lived more intensely than usually, an age of revolution, "when it is a pleasure to live," as one of the great fighters of that time, Ulrich von Hutten, said.

It was the medieval society which went down before the forces formed in preceding centuries. And it was the dawn of capitalism which gave the impetus to this enormous upheaval. Capital had stepped upon the historical stage of the world as a revolutionary power. It appeared as yet only as purely commercial capital, affecting only the circulation of commodities between one country and another, and did not directly enter into production. Nevertheless its effects were far-reaching. All social life was seen in a new light; all social relations were disturbed and dissolved. Entirely new and deep-striking conflicts arose between the various strata of society, and entirely new thoughts sprang from this fermenting chaos.

The economic conditions prevailing in the Middle Ages proper, when the Graeco-Roman culture of antiquity was finally destroyed, were based upon the production of natural objects. Commercial life was weak and had played an insignificant part in society as a whole. No exchange of commodities took place. Articles of utility were produced individually and consumed by the producer himself without buying or selling. Whatever was produced was subjected to immediate consumption and could not be transformed into money. The peasant family which lived entirely upon the products of the farm without economic reciprocity with the world at large, preparing its own food products, its own clothes, household utensils and primitive working-tools, is the type of this period. It was a period where the material and intellectual culture of the common people was very low and showed no sign of progress. Whatever was beyond the peasant's immediate environment was looked upon with suspicion; no fresh impulses could penetrate from the outer world; the priest and the monk were the only ones representing a higher intellectual force and before whom all, blindly and without criticism, bowed. An incentive to better and more intelligent work, which is otherwise found in a growing population for which bread must be procured, was wholly lacking; the pest ravaged with few years' interval and kept the number of the population low.

Just as absolute, however, as was the isolation with regard to all strangers, was the feeling of mutual interest which developed within the community. Remnants of the communistic conditions of antiquity were still to be found. The land was owned collectively and was partly used in common, and such a commonwealth was at that time the most appropriate.

The prevailing social order had formed itself in obedience to this economic condition. Since the commodity and money circulation was as yet insignificant, land became the natural expression for wealth. The secular and clerical potentates who had raised themselves had appropriated all the land in society. The peasants were tenants and had the right to the use of the land, but under the superiority of the proprietor, to whom they had to pay an annual tax in the shape of various products of the farm, certain stipulated quantities of grain, meat, etc. This was the form which exploitation assumed in medieval society. But the pressure brought to bear was not very intense. So long as production of articles of utility was for immediate consumption, and so long as it was impossible to dispose of the products in any other way, so long was there no incentive for further fleeing. So long as he had an abundance for his household, the lord was satisfied—he had absolutely no use for any surplus inasmuch as he could not realize it in money or exchange it for other commodities.

The entire medieval culture received its impress from these social and economic conditions: the handicrafts, commerce and city life, which was forced in the background by agriculture and was mostly an adjunct to the household of the seigneur or the prelate; the seigniorial manor with its solid architecture and heavy but ostentatious luxury; the stagnant intellectual life; the power of the Catholic church over the minds; art and intellectual culture in its various manifestations; the church buildings and recondite, the ingenious scholastic philosophy and the naive folk-songs.

(Continued next week.)

# SETTING PROFESSOR FISHER STRAIGHT

THE ECONOMICS OF SOCIALISM EXPLAINED AND SOME OBJECTIONS OF YALE INSTRUCTOR MET.

By Arnold Petersen.

Professor Fisher, of Yale, came out against Socialism, in the New York "Times" of October 30, "knocking out," of course, the Marxian principles of Socialism, at least, so he thought. His contention is of course the old one, namely that interest-taking (profit-taking) is not robbery; and furthermore, that it is impossible to eliminate it.

Let us see how the learned professor succeeds in refuting the scientific principles of Socialism. To begin with, he goes into a brief dissertation of the various brands of reform ideas, usually designated as "Socialistic," and observes that it is orthodox Socialism that he wants to treat of, to wit, Marxian Socialism.

His conception of Socialism is on a par with that of his esteemed British colleague, Mr. Mallock, who claimed that Marx contended that ONLY MANUAL labor produced the world's wealth. Fisher accuses Marx of having said that "the evils of distribution of wealth are due to the taking of interest by the capitalists; that interest is fundamentally a theft from wages (!); that it is within the power of the government to abolish interest, and that the abolition of interest would raise wages and cure poverty." Where, our erudite Professor, did you ever find Marx utter such nonsense? As Marx never made any such claims, we are forced to conclude that either Prof. Fisher is attempting to analyze a subject of which he knows nothing, or that he does know, and then wilfully misrepresents the truth. We leave the choice to the professor.

Were it not for the opportunity offered to explain just what Socialism is and also to expose the pseudo-scientific methods of the bourgeois economists, his article would not be worth answering. As it is, it may be taken up.

After having set up the above-mentioned straw-men, Mr. Fisher proceeds to knock them down. He believes "that the giving and taking of interest, while it does afford many the opportunity to sink hopelessly into debt and poverty, it also affords many the opportunity to rise from poverty to comfort and affluence; that interest is not theft from wages (quite true, professor); that the same bargain which benefits the capitalist, who can afford to be patient for his dividends, also benefits the laborer, who must needs be impatient for his living; that a high rate of interest is sometimes socially beneficial and that the prejudice against interest taking, which the Socialist would fain revive, has done harm." I shall as briefly as possible state the fundamental principles of Marxian economics.

The Standard Dictionary gives the definition of political economy as being "that branch of civics that treats of the nature of wealth and the laws of its production and distribution, including all the causes of prosperity and the reverse."

First of all, we find that wealth in capitalist society is represented by so many commodities of various utilities. Everything produced under capitalism assumes the commodity-form. It must be useful in one way or another, and it must be exchangeable in the market. Thus we find that a commodity has two values—a use-value and an exchange-value. What is the use-value of a commodity? Clearly this is quite relative. What is useful to Tom may be utterly useless to Dick. Lumber may be cheap, yet to the one who is drowning, the use-value of a plank, to which he can cling while aid is forthcoming could not be expressed in any monetary term.

What, then, does determine the real value of a commodity? What is it that makes one commodity more valuable than another and makes them exchange at a certain ratio in the market? We all know that a loaf of bread can not be exchanged for a pair of shoes—both use-values, indeed, the former being generally considered of a greater importance than the latter. Why, then, is it that it requires many loaves of bread to exchange for a pair of shoes? Because it has taken more socially necessary labor-time to produce a pair of shoes than it did to produce a loaf of bread. The exchange-value of a commodity, accordingly, is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor-power requisite for its production. This means, that if it took three hours to produce a pair of shoes and three hours to produce a hat, these two commodities will be equally exchangeable in the market, or, to speak in monetary terms, they will fetch the same price.

All commodities will, on the average, sell at their value. The exceptions are caused by the condition of the market. If the supply of a commodity is greater than the demand, it will sell below its value, if the reverse is the case it will

sell above its value. In the long run, however, the price and value of commodities will coincide.

It will be seen that value and price are two distinct different things. A thing may have little or no exchange-value (crystallization of human labor-power) and yet command a high price. For example, a Rembrandt painting, because of the scarcity and natural limitations of supply and because of the keen desire to obtain it, will be found to be pretty expensive, while other things, requiring far more labor, but with a great supply available will be found to be very cheap.

Human labor-power, too, is a commodity subject to the same laws as all other commodities. Its value is determined by the amount of social necessities (or socially necessary labor) required for its maintenance and reproduction. The worker is the possessor of this labor-power, (and that is about all he does possess) and in order to live he must sell it to his capitalist master. Were conditions normal, that is, did the fluctuation between the supply and demand of labor-power cease, and the two balance, the worker would in the long run be able to dispose of his labor-power at its value, i. e., for the food, shelter, clothing and whatever else might be needed to maintain and raise a family in the same category to which he belongs. As, however, the supply of labor-power is permanently in excess of the demand, and as the workingman must sell his commodity labor-power, whether the market is favorable or not; it follows that he must sell it below its value, i. e. below that which is considered necessary under given social conditions to maintain and sustain life.

The workingman, after having produced the value of his own labor-power does not stop producing; if he did, there could be no such thing as capitalists. The wages, or price, which the worker receives represents the minor part of the total product. Whatever the worker produces over and above his wages, over and above the starvation line, is appropriated by the capitalist owner of those tools and means of production which the workers must have access to in order to live at all. Hence, profits (interests, the professor calls them) are not thefts from wages, as Mr. Fisher charges us with claiming, but represents those values of which the worker is robbed.

An illustration of how the worker is robbed might not be out of place.

Let us assume that a certain capitalist desires to manufacture tables. He goes into the market and buys a quantity of raw material which we will say amounts to \$33; wear and tear of machinery during the labor-process comes to \$3, the total outlay being \$36. Assuming, further, that this raw material is sufficient for the production of three tables, and that \$1 is consumed in wear and tear on each of these tables we find that \$12 is the expenditure on raw material and wear and tear on one table. Right here it is well to observe that gold—which is the standard of our monetary system—is a commodity, and as such possesses the characteristics and is subjected to the same laws as all other commodities. We assume that a given quantity of gold, expressed in the term of \$12, required for its production 24 hours of socially necessary labor-time; 24 hours of labor constitutes then the value of this quantity of gold.

Having procured the necessary raw material for the production of tables, our capitalist looks around for that necessary element without which no tables, nor any other commodities, could be produced, namely, human labor-power. This, too, he finds ready in its respective market, the labor market.

To simplify matters we will suppose that he buys labor-power at its value, which, as has been stated, is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor requisite for its reproduction. Let us assume that 4 hours are required for the production of this necessary labor. Four hours of average labor-time then constitute the value of the worker's labor-power. Now, as \$12 is the expression of 24 hours' labor, then 4 hours' labor expresses itself in \$2. This amount which the worker must have in order to maintain and reproduce his labor-power is called his wages.

Thus far 28 hours of socially necessary labor-time are crystallized in one table: 24 hours for raw material and wear and tear and 4 hours for the labor-power without which the raw material could not have been converted into a table. As 24 hours of labor are equal to \$12 in gold, it follows that 28 hours of labor are equal to \$14 which then will be the price or the monetary expression of the exchange-value of the table. The capitalist, however, pays out \$14 and receives

back only \$14. Apparently his "labor" has all been in vain. Let us see.

The manufacturer buys the commodity labor-power, we suppose, at its value. But he buys it on the principle that he buys all other commodities, i. e., he preserves for himself the prerogative of making whatever use he desires of the commodity which he pays for. The limit to the use which he can make of it is determined only by the mental and physical capacity of the laborer. Unlike all other commodities, the commodity labor-power possesses this characteristic, that it is capable of producing values over and above its own value. In other words, when the capitalist buys his labor-power at its value—which is equal to 4 hours average labor-time—he has no thought of letting the worker off after he has worked 4 hours. He buys it with the understanding that the possessor, the worker, is to perform the labor of a full working-day, the duration of which is determined by certain social and economic conditions. We will assume that the working day in this case is 12 hours. Having converted a given amount of raw material into one table in four hours, it follows that in 12 hours the worker is capable of converting three times as much raw material into three tables. As he receives only the value of his labor-power, which is equal to 4 hours socially necessary labor, it will be seen that for every three tables he produces he receives only the equivalent of one. One table selling at its value in the market will bring \$14 (\$12 raw material and wear and tear and \$2 the price of a 12 hours' working day); three tables will consequently bring \$42. The total values employed in the production of the three tables are \$38 (\$36 for raw material and wear and tear and \$2 for 12 hours' working day). The capitalist receives \$42. A SURPLUS VALUE of \$4 has been created. These \$4 represent 8 hours surplus labor-time or labor-time for which the worker receives no equivalent; in other words, they represent eight hours of unpaid labor.

The figures here used are, of course, arbitrary. As to the workingman, his share of the product is in this case 33 1/3 per cent., about twice as much as he actually receives to-day in the United States.

Does our worthy professor say anything about this? Nary a word! Instead, he rambles all over creation without once "refuting" these principles. Even the bourgeois economists of Marx's time (of the species vulgaris as he termed them) would consider Fisher's economic vulgarisms. If the Mallocks, the Fishers, et al., represent bourgeois economy, surely their "science" is all but dead.

Interest (Fisher's idea of profit), according to the professor is "impatience crystallized into a market rate." Truly, the capitalist is only too impatient to make profits (sweat labor), and he is as a rule not very particular how it is done either. Fisher tells a story of a "Socialist laboring man" who did some work for him. Being asked to lend him (the professor) \$25, which he owed the worker, without interest for 20 years, in other words, to wait 20 years for his pay, he answered that being a poor man he could not do that. Our professor then offered to pay his worker not only the \$25 but the interest upon it, but was answered that he would rather have \$25 now than \$100 twenty years later. And then Mr. Fisher says that "his answer revealed the essential fallacy in his philosophy, and led him to see that prepayment is a favor worth something to the laboring man, a great deal in fact."

Prepayment! And that after the professor had just admitted that the worker had done the work! As a matter of fact, no worker receives his wages before he has performed his function. The capitalist withholds the money as long as he possibly can.

The professor goes on to say that so long as a workingman deliberately prefers (1) an early payment to a later payment with interest (which as we saw is a fallacy) he should not object if some one else takes the interest. He, the worker, has "the option to take his interest himself if he will (!) do what every interest-taker must do: wait; for he, too, can be a lender by depositing in a savings bank or otherwise."

Where the worker is to get the money from is left for us to guess. Even if he did deprive himself of certain necessities, and put a few pennies in the bank, he would simply furnish the capitalist with money enabling them to exploit more labor or to buy improved machinery for displacing labor. In such case the worker himself would be saving to get an early and perhaps nice funeral.

"The Socialist is not content with regulation [of interest], but wants abolition. [Horror!] But to abolish interest is, to any one who realizes what interest means, as chimerical and Quixotic as to abolish prices. . . . Some Karl Marx might conceivably arise who would set poor people agog with the thought that prices should be abolished."

No, dear Professor. With the social

(Continued on page six.)

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1910.

I love the good old sayings  
That the Ancients used to say;  
They ease the weary straying  
Of this busy modern day.  
Yet with them all I'm not in chime:  
With prices on the wing,  
I can not find "the stitch in time"  
Will save me anything!

That one about the Birds—  
"One in hand"—you know the one—  
A saying most absurd is  
When the whole is said and done.  
Two canvassbacks in any bush  
Are worth, in any land,  
Three times as much as any thrush  
You ever had in hand.

—DODD-GASTIT.

## LEO TOLSTOY.

"The greatest living Russian" is the  
title that Count Leo Tolstoy bore for  
many a year, and was lovingly called  
to the day of his death. In a sense, he  
was. Considering that the constituency  
which bestowed the title lay mainly out-  
side of Russia, and was composed of  
members of all civilized nationalities,  
the title may be amended to read "the  
greatest living man of all countries."  
And so he was—in a sense.

All Ages have required two distinct  
greatnesses—the Positive greatness, and  
the Negative: the former, through its  
greatness, to construct a new civiliza-  
tion; the latter, likewise through its  
greatness, to serve as a warning against  
and illustrate the futility of the opposite  
course in the endeavor to escape exist-  
ing social evils. Surely the present Age  
stood in need of the two types. Tolstoy  
filled the call for the second.

At all critical social junctures the peo-  
ples, as the choruses of the ancient  
Greek tragedies, divide temperamentally  
into two ranks—a Progressive and  
Aggressive rank, and one Retrogressive  
and Retiring; one rank, inspired by the  
spirit that inspired Walt Whitman's  
lines, feels itself "pioneer" and, accord-  
ingly, has for its device "all the past we  
leave behind us"; the other, inspired by  
the spirit that inspired monasticism,  
turns its back upon the battlefield and  
its face to the past. While the former  
has the fascination of Action, the latter  
has the equally powerful attraction of  
Rest. Tolstoy was the central, giant  
figure of the Gospel of Rest in Retro-  
gression.

Gone beyond the ken of man are the  
days of patriarchal simplicity. Those  
were the days of isolated mankind.  
These are the days of a worldwide man-  
kind, complexly connected and held to-  
gether. Arrant is the superstition re-  
garding the days of yore having been the  
Golden Age of Man. It is a superstition  
that may furnish themes for poetry, it  
never can be the basis for social recon-  
struction. The olden days, despite their  
beauties, many of which are imaginary,  
were the days of hopeless Want. Man-  
kind has cast off that slough. The days  
it heads for are days of Plenty—days  
that the progress in the mechanism of  
production now makes possible. Tolstoy  
would lead us back with a hemlock;  
Socialism urges man forward with the  
Archangel's war cry against the Dragon.

Well for our generation and the social  
crisis our generation is traversing that  
the apostle of a social program that is  
Negative and Retrogressive was the  
giant, noble figure of a Tolstoy. A  
mediocre, ignoble figure could not, by its  
failure, have illustrated the visionar-  
iness of such a program as effectively as  
a Tolstoy has done—and thereby helped  
to channel human thought into the chan-  
nel of Progress, of Aggression, of Action.

There are failures that are fruitful,  
and, as such, deserving, if not of the  
laurel, yet surely of the lily. Such was  
Tolstoy, as man and as program.

## OUR THANKSGIVING.

The affirmation by the United States  
Circuit Court of the sentence against  
Fred Warren, Socialist party man, has  
been promptly followed by Warren's  
nomination for President in 1912 by a  
Socialist party organization in Delaware.

This is well; it means progress on the  
part of the S. P.; it is cause for thank-  
sgiving.

Two years ago the Socialist Labor  
Party, in national convention assembled,  
nominated for President Morrie Preston,  
then as now, in a Nevada penitentiary.

The sentence was for alleged murder.  
Preston, on picket duty for his Union,  
and assaulted with a deadly weapon by  
the employer against whose economic  
and civic crimes the Union was on strike,  
shot his assailant dead. If the killing of  
an employer, who brandishes a deadly  
weapon, by a picket-man is murder, then  
picketing must be a criminal offense. If  
picketing is a criminal offense, then the  
strike itself must be criminal. If the  
strike is a criminal act, then Unionism  
is a rattle to entertain the fatuous, and  
the Cause of Labor's emancipation a  
scheme against human Progress.

The S. L. P. nomination, accordingly,  
was not an endorsement of murder. Far  
otherwise, and to the contrary. It was  
an emphatic repudiation and condem-  
nation of murder. It amounted to a ver-  
dict, eventually, probably soon to roll  
over this country in notes of thunder  
against the murder-abetting Court proce-  
dure that sentenced the MAN, and the  
civilization-throttling Court procedure  
that sentenced the PRINCIPLE of the  
Socialist, or Industrial Republic.

This notwithstanding, the S. P. press,  
echoing the natural enough bourgeois  
outcry over the "nomination of a mur-  
derer for the seat once held by Washing-  
ton," "tucked up its skirt" and "turned  
up its nose" at the S. L. P. presidential  
nominee; "passed by on the other side";  
and even went the lengths of causing at  
least one Socialist paper abroad to con-  
demn the S. L. P. for "nominating a  
murderer."

Only a little more than two years  
later we see a nomination for President  
issue from that identical S. P. camp in  
behalf of another "convict."

Warren had circulated envelopes bear-  
ing in red letters a money offer for the  
capture of a bourgeois politician then  
under indictment for murder, and in  
hiding. Conviction for such an act is a  
perversion of the letter and the spirit of  
the Law. It is the raising of a principle  
that makes directly for the overthrow of  
a free press. Warren's nomination for  
President is, accordingly, an echo of the  
S. L. P. presidential nomination of 1908.

True, the echo is faint. Between a  
sentence of a few months' imprisonment,  
together with a thousand-and-odd dollar  
fine, for the alleged violation of a postal  
regulation, and a life-sentence for alleged  
murder, the difference is considerable.  
There may be those who may think the  
difference so considerable as to allow no  
parallel. Perhaps so. To indignant over  
a lesser wrong, involving a lesser prin-  
ciple, often is a manoeuvre whereby to es-  
cape the obligation to indignant over a  
greater wrong involving so great a prin-  
ciple that the indignation places a serious  
burden on the indignant. Nevertheless,  
proceeding from the principle that be-  
tween "convict" and "convict" the differ-  
ence is only shadowy, the suggestion of a  
"convict" by the of-capitalist-journalism-  
beloved S. P. for President is cause for  
applause. It is an act that may, per-  
haps, possibly, mature into that full So-  
cialist virility which, regardless of ap-  
pearances, regardless of bourgeois con-  
demnation, takes its stand squarely upon  
proletarian interests.

For the evidence of the possibility of  
such progress that may yet bring the  
S. P. abreast of the S. L. P., and thereby  
disinfect the name of Socialism in Amer-  
ica from the bourgeois microbes of Bour-  
geois Respectability, the S. L. P. this day  
gives thanks.

THAT INCORRIGIBLE WORKING-  
MAN!

Col. E. M. Weaver, chief of the  
division of militia, has tacked the latest  
count to the indictment that the class  
of the Plunderer has drawn up against the  
class of the Plundered. Nay, the Colonel  
has tacked two fresh counts.

In his report to the chief of staff Col.  
Weaver denounces the "unfriendly atti-  
tude" of the Union towards the militia;  
"even the teachings of patriotism," he  
complains, "are of no effect; even when  
it is shown that the sole purpose of the  
militia is the maintenance of law and  
order," the workingmen very generally  
decline to join the national guard.

Truly, the workingman is an unre-  
generate, and is unregenerate. So  
spineless is his sense of patriotism that  
he declines to kneel down and, kneeling,  
hug the guns that have riddled the  
breasts of his brother workingmen at  
many a strike for a living wage; so  
obstinate is he that he fails to identify the  
"law and order," which suits his exploit-  
ers, with the law and order that suits  
him and his exploited class, and he de-  
clines to shoulder a gun under the com-  
mand of a political-military agent of the  
employing class. Hopeless workingman  
whose skull is so thick that all such

preachments of "patriotism" and "law  
and order" leave him untouched, unallur-  
able for the militia!

This should be a bad enough count in  
the capitalist indictment of the work-  
man. Col. Weaver follows the first with  
a second. After having graphically de-  
picted the hostility of the workers to-  
wards the militia, and having quite  
pointedly indicated the reason therefor,  
the Colonel expresses the opinion that  
the way to overcome the hostility of the  
Union for the militia is to establish a  
State Constabulary upon which to de-  
volve the duties of smashing strikes, or,  
in the Colonel's own words, of "preserv-  
ing law and order," whereupon, the  
Colonel opines that the militia not being  
for some time called upon to "shoot to  
kill" workmen on strike, the workers  
change their opinion, will "look upon the  
militia as a force of national defence,"  
and will acquire love for and forthwith  
troop again into the old ranks of the  
National Guard. In other words, Col.  
Weaver takes the workingman for an  
idiot. Nothing short of idiocy would  
help along the trick of making the  
militia look innocent just long enough  
to entrap the workers under the military  
command of the selfsame political mili-  
tary agencies of the Class of the Plun-  
derer.

And there you are—the workingman  
is not only "unpatriotic," he is also an  
"idiot"; you can not warm his heart with  
preachments of his duty to the Class  
that rides him, and he is idiotic enough  
to be cajoled back into the militia by a  
trick;—so reasons Col. E. M. Weaver  
chief of the division of militia.

## PORFIRIO DIAZ.

Mexican despatches, announcing "quiet  
in the Republic," may or may not be  
reliable. They may tell the truth about  
the attempted revolution having been  
smothered; and they may be doctored,  
governmental information to steady  
stocks and prevent a financial crash in  
the United States, more painful to many  
American and Mexican interests than  
would be the crash of Diaz's mock-presi-  
dential chair. However this may be, the  
fact that a revolutionary movement did  
break out, and that its sweep embraced  
such leading centers and strategic posts  
as Orizaba, Torreon, Guadalupe and  
Queretaro, is food for thought.

Out of the great Mexican upheaval  
that covered the period between 1890-  
1896, and which culminated in the French  
intervention, the French military occupa-  
tion of the Republic, the raising of a  
throne with Maximilian for Emperor, the  
capture and execution of the usurper, and  
the final evacuation of the land by the  
soldiers of Napoleon III,—out of that  
great conflict there emerged two men,  
with two great names. One, Juan Benito  
Juares, the indomitable representative of  
a people's indomitable civic will; the  
other, Porfirio Diaz, the representative of  
the military powers latent and inherent  
in a nation determined to be free. As  
President of the Republic during all those  
fateful seven years when his country was  
battered by foes from within and by a  
powerful coalition from without, Juares,  
the aged Indian of pure Indian blood,  
left, when he died, not many years later,  
a name imperishable. Well for Diaz—  
the gallant soldier whose maiden sword,  
fleshed with the blood of his country's  
"unfolding foes, cleared the path for  
Juares's triumphant re-entry in the cap-  
ital—well for him and his name had he  
followed his civic chief speedily to the  
grave.

That the Juares-Diaz triumph of 1896  
could not bring about the freedom of the  
Mexican people—that was in the cards.  
No bourgeois revolution can accomplish  
that feat. All that a bourgeois revolu-  
tion can accomplish—and great is the  
accomplishment thereof—is the promotion  
of the economic conditions that  
make actual freedom a possibility, and  
the establishment of the civic facilities  
to bring that freedom about. In the  
transit there is slavery with even aggra-  
vated features, yet a slavery that is  
transitory, a slavery fruitful of Freedom.

Hard enough would be the fate of him,  
who, wreathed in the laurels of the bour-  
geois struggle against feudalism, is com-  
pelled, by the very laws of his past pro-  
cesses, to preside over and even enforce  
that aggravated though transitory and  
beneficial slavery which the Bourgeois  
Revolution, the pathfinder for Socialism,  
brings along in its folds. Hard enough  
would Diaz's fate have been if his length  
of years had devolved upon him that  
thankless task. Diaz's fate is harder.

He stands to-day, whether this revolution  
turn out a failure or not, at the grave  
of all he battled for in the days of his  
youth; and, what is worse still, the im-  
personation of a cause that is marked  
Ichabod.

One single fact illumines the posture  
of Diaz. Feudal is the persecution of  
the heirs of a political foe. Significant  
is the condemnation of the process in our  
Federal Constitution. No act shall work  
"corruption of blood," that is, forfeiture  
of property, except during the life of the  
person attained. The leader of the  
present revolution in Mexico is Francisco  
I. Madero, a man of vast holdings. The  
decree that has issued from the Mexican  
Government restores the feudal principle

of "corruption of blood." Madero's prop-  
erty lying in the Republic has been pro-  
nounced confiscate, absolutely to the use  
of the Government.

His judgment unbinged by what may  
be called the "fair tales of capitalist  
progress"; his mind poisoned by the in-  
sidious approaches of American Capital,  
which, curbed at home by the progressive  
laws that even bourgeois institutions de-  
mand, found in Mexico a soil on which  
to graft feudalism upon capitalism, or  
capitalism upon feudalism; his ideals of  
old debased by American adventures;—  
the Diaz of to-day is a pitiable caricature  
of the Porfirio Diaz of 1886, a social mon-  
strosity whose being—and also whose  
unavoidable fate—can serve no purpose  
other than a towering warning to us all  
in America against Capitalism, and an  
additional warning against Capitalism  
when it treads the path of Reaction.

## WORKERS AND THE TAXES.

The Sydney "People," the official  
party-owned organ of the Socialist Labor  
Party of Australia, makes the following  
contribution to the question "Who Pays  
the Taxes":

"Freudenstadt, in Germany, is an in-  
dustrial town which is probably unique  
in this, that all its municipal expenses  
are paid without rates or taxes being levied  
therefore. But are the workers any  
better off on that account? Oh, no! The  
workers toil in iron and chemical  
works for their masters' profit, there as  
elsewhere. They sweat at laborious  
tasks before the roaring furnaces, and  
rot away amidst the fumes of chemicals,  
despite the fact that the 'public' owns  
municipal forest lands, which, carefully  
managed, relieve the capitalists of local  
rates and taxes. Under capitalism,  
municipalism is only municipal capital-  
ism, and its advantages go, not to the  
workers, but to the owning class. This  
is not theory only; it is experience, ob-  
served fact. Social revolution alone can  
enable the working class to become the  
owners of society: to become free."

It is the test of correct reasoning that  
facts, subsequently observed, square with  
the conclusions previously theoretically  
attained. The Socialist Labor Party,  
with an eye solely to labor's emancipa-  
tion from wage slavery, has ever insisted  
that the working class pays no taxes, and  
hence, were taxes lowered, or even abol-  
ished altogether, the workers would be  
no more in pocket than before.

The extreme case unearthed by  
our esteemed Australian contemporary  
clinches the point. The working class  
has no more interest in the question of  
high or low taxes than it has in "how  
old is Anne?"

## LO, A CHARITABLE ASSOCIATION.

There is a certain error abroad, a  
superstition, it may be called, among the  
people, at large, the workers, in par-  
ticular. It is the belief that the Ameri-  
can Woolen Company, the concern that  
is charged with responsibility for what is  
called "the indefensible Schedule K" is  
a greedy, grasping Trust which skins its  
employees in the mills, and then turns  
around and skins them all over again,  
along with other consumers. This is all  
wrong. The American Woolen Company  
is a charitable concern.

In order to make this clear to all  
"unprejudiced minds," Mr. William M.  
Wood, the President of the Company, got  
up a complimentary dinner to himself,  
and having invited himself to deliver an  
address on the occasion, graciously con-  
sented and spoke; and, thereupon, dug  
deep into his own pockets to publish his  
defense in a neat paper-covered booklet,  
which he distributes charitably free,  
gratis and for nothing, entitled "A De-  
fense of Schedule K."

Mr. Wood's defense is conclusive.  
Mr. Wood starts by denying that the  
American Woolen Company is a Trust.  
And he proves his point by declaring that  
"the American Woolen Company is sim-  
ply a large corporation."—What the  
difference is between a "Trust" and a  
"large corporation," large enough to  
throttle competition, to dictate legisla-  
tion suitable to itself, and to keep its  
employees in terror; these are trifles that  
can interest only the "ignorant or dis-  
honest men" for whom Mr. Wood has  
even less use than they for him.

Mr. Wood proves to the satisfaction of  
all "intelligent and honest men" that the  
American Woolen Company, so far from  
being greedy, grasping and bloated, is a  
modest concern, verging on the poor-  
house, having to content itself with only  
5 or 10 per cent.—What the principal is  
of the thirty-odd concerns, which Mr.  
Wood states "had been readjusted or  
gone into bankruptcy" and then organ-  
ized the Company, and upon which the  
10 per cent. are paid—that Mr. Wood  
wisely leaves unstated. That's nobody's  
concern. Moreover the law does not re-  
quire of man or woman any self-incrim-  
inating confession.

Mr. Wood declares that, so far from  
throttling competition, "the American  
Woolen Company lives in constant com-  
petition and thrives by competition." And  
he proves the claim to all but the  
"ignorant and dishonest" by stating that  
"indeed, it was the very exigency of the

severe struggle which they [the above  
referred to thirty-odd concerns out of  
whose ashes the Phoenix of the present  
Company arose] had endured that forced  
them to combine in self-protection."

Mr. Wood finally takes up the question  
of wages and satisfactorily, to all "who  
know what they are talking about," he  
disproves all charges of the Company's  
exploiting its workers:—

He points out that "the wages in  
American woolen mills are more than  
twice the wages in England and three  
times the wages in Germany or France."  
—Only people "who know not what they  
are talking about" go into such fine dis-  
tinctions as the tremendous difference  
between the productivity of American  
labor and English, German or French  
labor, to say nothing of the difference in  
the cost of living.

He points out that the Company "with  
its command of capital" can "go else-  
where and build our factories wherever  
labor is cheaper, but the American work-  
people can not do this. They can not  
go to Europe or Germany or France or  
Japan. They have got to live here and  
find work here." And again turning his  
back upon the people "who know not  
what they are talking about" he declines  
to stoop to explain how it comes that the  
"prosperous" American work-people can't  
afford trips to England or Germany or  
France or Japan.

As a final argument Mr. Wood demon-  
strates that the real purpose of the  
American Woolen Company is not so  
much to turn out woolen goods, as to  
turn out "prosperous workingmen, able  
to live in decent comfort and send their  
children to school."

It is proven. The American Woolen  
Company is a charitable-religious con-  
cern with Mr. William M. Wood as a  
leader in "prayer and praise."

## WOOLI

By Ed. Schmales, Houston, Tex.

["Baa! Baa! Black sheep, have you  
any wool?"—Nursery Rhyme.]

A sheep, my laboring friend,  
Is an animal stupid and dull;  
And its value, chiefly, lies in the fact  
That its back is covered with wool.

Now the shepherd who loves the sheep  
With more than a fatherly care,  
Applies the shears, with a skillful hand,  
And leaves it cold and bare.

You and I are the sheep:—  
(The metaphor is not new.)  
And we yield, with pain, our golden  
fleeces  
To a motley shearing crew.

The wool is our brawn and brain,  
And our few stray nickels and pence,  
Our share of the world's vast hoard  
of wealth—  
(In an incomprehensible sense.)

The butcher man and the baker,  
And the landlord take their toll,  
And the fat little priest would have a  
tenth  
For saving your poor lost soul.

Bear due respect for the shears:  
Be humble what e'er may betide;—  
If they clip too close for your comfort,  
you  
May thank that they leave you your  
hide.

Just as long as you trust in Croesus,—  
Croesus, backed by the priest—  
Your fate will be like the silly sheep.  
To be well and deftly fleeced.

## LABOR'S "LIBERTY."

Opponents of Socialism are pater-  
nally objecting that Socialism would  
destroy liberty and make man an  
automaton. To this Socialists reply  
that man, under the present system,  
has no liberty or opportunity to de-  
velop his individuality. Recently the  
words of a judge of the Kansas Su-  
preme Court added weight to this So-  
cialist contention. Discussing the  
matter of employers' liability for  
workers' injuries, and touching upon  
the opinion often laid down that a  
man may quit his job if he does not  
like it, and so should accept respon-  
sibility for accident, Justice Burch,  
with the concurrence of the full  
bench, declared:

"The liberty of the wage earner to  
contract for extra pay for extra haz-  
ard and to seek some other employ-  
ment if he does not like his master's  
methods, is a myth, or as has been  
said, 'a hollow mockery.' The man  
and the machine at which he works  
should be recognized as substantially  
one piece of mechanism, and mishaps  
to either ought to be repaired and  
charged to the cost of maintenance."

## Spanish Miners Win.

Madrid, November 25.—The miners'  
strike at Huelva has ended victoriously  
for the men, and they have resumed  
work.

"ROOSEVELTIAN FACT AND  
FABLE"

Victor Hugo wrote a little book en-  
titled "Napoleon le Petit" (Napoleon the  
Little). It was a political pasquinade  
against the third Napoleon as a contrast  
to Napoleon the Great. Marx wrote  
upon the same historic character a mono-  
graph entitled "The Eighteenth Brumaire  
of Louis Bonaparte." However  
different the mold in which the two  
works are cast—the former being essen-  
tially a political pamphlet, the latter a  
treatise on the philosophy of history  
with the rise of Napoleon III for its  
objective,—both coincide, and, in one  
respect supplement each other, in drawing  
the picture of their "hero" as a sham and  
charlatan. The two works, Hugo's and  
Marx's teach the lesson that the Caesars  
are of two types—one a doer of deeds,  
the other a pretender; one an aspirer,  
however selfish accompanying motives  
may be, after gigantic world-plans, the  
other a schemer of petty schemes; one  
a conjurer of lofty sentiments, the other  
a panderer to vile instincts; one an  
eagle that soars in the empyrean, the  
other a hyena that grubs in pollution.  
Mrs. Annie Riley Hale's work—a little  
book of less than 200 pages, entitled  
"Rooseveltian Fact and Fable," dedi-  
cated "To the Galleries, to whom my hero has  
played so long and so successfully"—  
takes its place beside Hugo's and Marx's  
as an enforcer of the same lesson.

As parallels are numerous between the  
original Caesar and Napoleon the Great,  
so must they also be, presumably, be-  
tween Napoleon the Little and his his-  
toric successors. How numerous these  
parallels are between Napoleon the Little,  
when still a-making, and Roosevelt at  
the same period of his career, one is  
startled to find at every page of Mrs.  
Hale's book. The author never once  
mentions Napoleon III; probably he  
never occurred to her while writing; yet  
there they are, the glaring parallels, leap-  
ing forth one after another.

The fustian literary productions of  
Roosevelt recall to mind the "translation  
of Caesar's De Bello Gallico" by the  
Little Napoleon; the Big Stick revives  
the recollections of the military inter-  
vention in Rome and the escapade in  
Mexico performed by the caricature of  
the great Napoleon; the "White House  
cuckoos" are the exact Rooseveltian  
imitation of the sham Napoleon's gut-  
ter-snipe press agents; the "Gen." Leonard  
Woods of the Roosevelt regime are re-  
minders of the ominous military chiefs  
whom Louis Bonaparte, when still Presi-  
dent, raised and called to his side; the  
Paul-Mortons, Bishops, Berneses, Ad-  
dickses, etc., are the exact Rooseveltian  
counterparts of the stock-jobbing minis-  
try of the "Nephew of Napoleon"; the  
rowdy Rough Riders bear the strongest  
resemblance to the "Society of December  
10," the organized slummers of high and  
low degree raked together by Napoleon  
the Little, and that did such signal ser-  
vice in the coup that transformed the  
Little Napoleon into an Emperor and a  
Caesar.

But it is not as an intentional or  
unintentional suggester of a biographic  
parallel that Mrs. Hale's work ranks  
high. Mrs. Hale's work has an historic  
value that not all the brilliancy of Victor  
Hugo's work, nor all the profundity of  
Karl Marx's "Napoleon le Petit,"  
Karl Marx's "The Eighteenth Brumaire  
of Louis Bonaparte," were written  
AFTER the Louis Bonapartean conspiracy  
was successfully carried out: Mrs.  
Hale's work appears BEFORE a similar  
calamity has overtaken the United  
States—and thereby contributes a  
mighty share to prevent it. Brick upon  
brick—calmly and soberly piled up along  
the strictest of masons' plumb-line, and  
held together by the solid cement of  
authentication—Mrs. Hale has raised a  
wall so high that our American would-be  
Napoleon le Petit will find greater dis-  
culty to vault over it than did the  
French Big Stick to promenade into a  
Caesar's throne.

Mrs. Hale's work deserves wide read-  
ing. It is an analytic study of Roosevelt  
since the man's first beginnings down to  
his African trip. It takes him up from  
each of his many-sided aspects, strips him  
of mask and cloak, and leaves him tied  
to the stake of fact. "Rooseveltian  
Fact and Fable" is a liberal education  
upon a broad field of contemporaneous  
American events that none can afford  
to do without, least of all the sons and  
daughters of the land whom America is  
calling upon to solve the social and po-  
litical problems of the hour. The book  
can be obtained at the Labor News Co.,  
28 City Hall Place, this city, price \$1.  
Its only serious defect is the "Index,"  
which is worse than useless as "a guide,"  
which it announces itself to be, "to all  
important topics furnished by the Table  
of Contents."

Without a workingman realizing the  
fact of class distinction, he will not un-  
derstand that the Democratic and Re-  
publican parties, together with their Or-  
ganized Scabbery stool-pigeon, seek to  
protect the class that lives upon his  
back. Nor will he be able to see that  
his class interests direct him to join the  
Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial  
Union, twin organizations for the aboli-  
tion of capitalism and the emancipa-  
tion of the worker.

UNCLE SAM AND  
BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—In spite of  
all your talk, I don't see why we men  
of America are not free. When all is  
said and done, you must admit that we  
have no lords that we must knuckle  
under to.

UNCLE SAM—Let's see. Must you  
and all workers not "knuckle under" to  
your bosses from early infancy, or can  
you do what you want? Don't they  
compel you to sign away the rights the  
law gives you for protection from injury  
in exchange for a crust? And, further-  
more, do you not know that our workers  
in America support more lords, princes  
and marquises than any European coun-  
try? Who are Duchess Torlonia, Coun-  
tess Montgela, the Countess of Suffolk,  
the Countess of Essex, the Countess de  
Beaufort, Lady Curzon, the Duchess of  
Marlborough, the ex-Marchioness of  
Castellane, the Princess of Hatfield, the  
Countess of Campofelice, Countess  
Scherr-Thoss, Countess Vial Castel,  
Countess Fitz-James, Countess Lachen-  
fell, Princess Chimay, the Countess of  
Roslyn, the Princess de Broglie, the  
Princess of Cantacuzine, the Duchess de  
Rexburghe, the Princess of Braganza,  
and scores of other if not American  
women who own our American property,  
and whom we, our wives and children  
must support with the sweat of our  
brows, and who bully us and have caused  
us to be clubbed and shot if we strike!  
(Pulls B. J. under the pump and ad-  
ministers a thorough soaking.) That  
much for "equality before the law."

Much good does the absence of lords and  
dunks in our constitution do us if  
practically they are on our backs! Now go  
on with your claims.

B. J. (wet as a ducked hen and quite  
crestfallen)—No, thank you. The starch  
is taken clean out of my "equality be-  
fore the law."

U. S.—Now you may be able to un-  
derstand what Socialists mean by "classes."  
The thing to look at is the material  
condition of man. According as his ma-  
terial conditions so will his aspirations  
and needs be. The men who own huge  
capital constitute a class that needs no  
work. They can live upon the work  
of those who do not own any capital  
because without land on, and machinery,  
with which to labor man can not ex-  
ercise his functions as a worker. Thus  
we have two classes: 1. The idle capi-  
talist class that has sponged upon the  
nation's wealth, and 2nd, the working  
class, or proletariat, who alone does all  
the work and produces all the wealth  
but lives in poverty. In between these  
two you have the middle class. It con-  
sists of people who have little property,  
just enough to keep them from working  
for others but not enough to compete  
with the big fellows. This middle class  
is going by the board fast. Catch on?

B. J.—I begin to see.

U. S.—All political struggles are con-  
ducted upon the lines of the class in-  
terests of these three. The big class  
wants to preserve their stolen goods; the  
middle class wants to prevent the big  
fellows from swallowing them up, but  
wants to preserve the power of them-  
selves fleecing the workers. The work-  
ers want to prevent all these vampires  
from fleecing them. Hence the class  
struggle of the proletariat is and must  
be conducted upon lines of abolishing the  
private ownership of the land and the  
machinery of production.



# CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

## STIRRING THINGS IN TACOMA.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Have just finished another week's work in Tacoma, and with the co-operation of local Party members succeeded in landing one sub each for the "Arbeiter" and "Volksfreund und Arbeiter-Zeitung," and twenty-one for the Weekly People.

Owing to bad weather only one outdoor meeting was held, but this was a corker. The Section was out in full force, and between us we succeeded in selling thirty-one pamphlets and a good supply of Weekly Peoples.

The Section is preparing the way for a gigantic Fedorenko protest meeting, letters having been sent out to various organizations inviting them to elect representatives who will meet in S. L. P. headquarters on November 20, where arrangements will be made for holding the demonstration.

During the next month efforts will be made by the local powers that be to take Comrade Olsson's citizenship papers away on the silly grounds that Olsson has at an outdoor meeting criticised the Constitution and the capitalist government. The charge is so farcical on the face of it that it is doubtful if the case will be tried.

There is a panic on here in the lumber industry, thousands of lumber jacks are out of work, and with starvation staring them in the face it is to be hoped that they will see the error of their way and line up like men for the overthrow of the system that is the cause of their sad predicament.

Will leave to-day for Hoquiam, Wash., for a week's work, plowing the ground for more subs.

Chas. Pierson.

Tacoma, Wash., November 14.

## CHEATED OUT OF HIS VOTE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Although a man may be a voter, it doesn't follow that he can always express his choice at the elections. I experienced this fact, for I was disfranchised here.

At this place voting machines were in use. I secured a sample ballot and was told that I could not vote for a man whose name was not on the ballot. I wrote to the County Clerk and complained that I was disfranchised. He wrote that I could vote for a man whose name was not on the tickets. I went back to my instructor and showed him the letter, to which he replied he would like to keep it until the next day, and he told me to return. The next day I went back, but was informed that the machines were not open for writing in names except at Presidential elections. The result was that I was disfranchised.

F. W. Anderson.

Benicia, Calif., November 13.

## SOCIALIST VOTE AND DUTY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—"It looks as if by a heavy surge in these last weeks, a Socialist and labor Governor would be landed by the rising tide at Sacramento. It looks now as if the workers of California were going to put Fred C. Wheeler, carpenter, trade unionist and labor champion, as President of the State Senate. It looks as if labor and Socialist candidates for the legislature were going to be elected, besides a whole batch of lesser officers, to say nothing of two or three Congressmen—including Garret and Requin at least." Thus J. Stitt Wilson in a pre-election statement. Further on he said that the Socialist party ticket would poll 100,000 votes. Wheeler, the S. P. candidate for Lieutenant-Governor said that the ticket would poll 100,000. Thus Wheeler and Wilson.

Most of the returns are now in. The head of the S. P. ticket polled in the neighborhood of 60,000 votes and Wheeler polled about 50,000. Some of the other candidates ran under 40,000 votes. There is a great difference in the vote polled for the head of the S. P. ticket and for the minor offices. For example, here in San Francisco Wilson got 600 votes in the 35th Assembly District, and J. Wesley, who ran for Assemblyman in that district on the S. P. ticket, received 37 votes. In Los Angeles the strike movement undoubtedly swelled the number of votes cast for the S. P. But all the unusual factors aside, the fact remains that the Socialist party has managed by hook and crook, to get the largest vote ever cast in this State for their ticket. It is true they trimmed, it is true they cast every Socialist principle overboard, but the fact remains that a great

number of people voted for something that was labeled Socialism. The people broke away from the old parties and the word Socialism is on every tongue. The time for solid S. L. P. propaganda was never better than now.

F. W. S.

San Francisco, Calif., November 14.

## PIRATES AND COUNTERFEITS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I am sending you a pamphlet which has recently come into my possession. The title of it is: "War against War," and on the cover page the announcement is made that it is a speech made by Gustave Herve in defense of Internationalism. I supposed it to be a new translation of Herve's famous speech before the jury of La Seine in 1905. But if you examine it closely and compare it with Solon De Leon's translation of the same speech, you will find that it is not a fresh translation, but a sneak adoption of the N. Y. Labor News Co. pamphlet. The phraseology is identical, except that here and there words have been altered and sentences omitted; in short it is a mutilation of S. De Leon's translation.

This is simply some of the despicable tactics used by the S. D. P. and the I. L. P. against the S. L. P. The British S. L. P. has for years pushed the sale of the Labor News pamphlet, but it has been rigidly boycotted by the S. D. P. and the I. L. P. Now, however, when this bogus translation appears, these fake Socialist parties seize upon it and forward its sale.

Another fake which is being furthered here is the "industrialist" movement. In these isles a small band of enthusiasts have propagated the principles of industrial unionism and the I. W. W. year in and year out, ever since the I. W. W. was launched. These men have succeeded in creating a healthy industrial unionist sentiment among wage slaves in every industrial center. The "noble" labor fakirs, together with their co-partners, the official classes, the I. L. P. and the S. D. P., have become alarmed. At first they ignored the movement, as though they could kill it by sneers. But finding industrial union ideas spreading they became alarmed and tried repression. Individuals were expelled and boycotted, and even whole branches of S. D. P. and I. L. P. organizations were excommunicated. Finding these tactics worse than useless they hit off a new tack. They discovered that they were in favor of industrial unionism and had been all the time, but did not know it. But it was not the industrial unionism of the I. W. W. Oh dear no, "for that is the wrong method entirely; we must not antagonize the existing unions, but seek to federate or amalgamate them."

The leading exponent of this sidetracking move is Tom Mann, a man who in Australia made himself notorious by his opposition to the I. W. W. there. Now in England he adopts another role, and is vigorously supported and his ideas boomed by Social Democrats and Labor men generally, much to the confusion of the average wage slave as to what industrial unionism is. These people, you will see, are worthy cousins to the American S. P. We of the British S. L. P. are up against the same kind of gentry you have to deal with on your side of the fish pond.

Yours for the Social Revolution and the confusion of all freaks,

A. Cook.

Leeds, England, November 14.

## THINGS MILWAUKEEAN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed find \$5; one dollar to apply on renewal of my subscription to the Weekly People for another year; two dollars and seventy-five cents for the following Sue books: The Gold Sickle, The Brass Bell, The Iron Collar, The Silver Cross, and The Casque's Lark. The balance, \$1.25, can be used for the Operating Fund, or such fund as you deem best, or where most needed.

My intention is to continue to secure a few copies of the Sue books each month until I secure the entire edition.

My associates are all bourgeois or bourgeois-minded in thought, therefore it is with considerable pleasure that I look forward each week for the arrival of The People, and feel very much disappointed when the paper fails to arrive on time, which is the case occasionally. In fact it seems as though I could not get along without The People as I have been a constant reader since its first publication.

I was in hopes that this week's issue of The People would contain a report of the results of the late election in Milwaukee, which resulted in the success of the S. D. P. throughout Milwaukee County, and the election of Victor Berger to Congress to represent the Fifth Congressional District of Wisconsin, which comprises a

portion of Milwaukee County and all of Waukesha County. I presume the full report will appear later as no doubt it will be of interest to the comrades throughout the country.

While the daily papers are publishing accounts of the gains made by the Socialist party throughout the country, it seems singular that they fail to publish the fact that while the S. D. P. were successful in electing their entire county ticket in Milwaukee county, with exception of a few Assemblymen, their vote in the city fell off since last spring's election (which resulted in the election of Mayor Seidel together with the entire S. D. P. city ticket), nearly 7,000 votes.

The canvassing board gives Jacobs, S. D. P. candidate for Governor, 21,034 votes within the city, or a total of 23,182 in the county. Mayor Seidel received in last spring's election 28,007. Thus you will see that Jacobs received 6,973 less votes than Mayor Seidel, or a falling off of nearly 7,000 votes within six months. At this rate of decrease in voting strength it can easily be seen the S. D. P. is liable to lose out in next spring's city election.

During the late campaign the S. D. P. flooded the city with their campaign literature, but not one word did it contain that would enlighten the people as to the real meaning or aims of Socialism. Not one word was printed that would give a person seeking information an idea as to what course to pursue to attain a realization of Socialism; their whole aim and effort was to secure votes.

The S. D. P. claim to have spent \$8,000 during the late campaign. Oh, what a waste! If the S. L. P. had this amount to spend what great good they could accomplish with their constructive literature.

I have seen no account of the S. L. P. vote throughout the state.

N. G.

Milwaukee, November 20.

## DE LEON'S MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Daniel De Leon, Editor of The People, lectured in the Philadelphia Labor Lyceum to an audience of about six hundred workmen and women last Sunday. The subject was, "The Bankruptcy of the So-Called Socialist Party." It was handled in a masterly manner. The lecturer reviewed the flare-up and flare-down again of the Populist and other movements in this country, and showed the causes. He demonstrated the fact that because of the increasing misery of the mass of the people, due to economic causes which were not removable under capitalism, and which was bound to result despite fluctuations in the vote in increased and ever increasing Socialist sentiment which would finally crystallize in a huge Socialist vote, that the party which did not organize the necessary force to back up that vote was totally bankrupt and but invited disaster and bloodshed on the heads of the working class. He showed that the only conceivable force with which to back up the ballots of the proletariat was for the workers in all the industries of the country to be integrally organized and drilled to take over and run these industries when the proper moment arrived.

A dramatic incident occurred when Comrade De Leon, on criticising the conduct of an S. P. paper in this city ("The Tageblatt") for accepting an advertisement from the Transit Company during the recent trolleyman's strike, was interrupted by a man in the audience who shouted, "That's nonsense; it's not true." De Leon paused for an instant and then said, that, on March 10th of this year the "Tageblatt" of this city, an S. P. paper published an ad. headed "Transit Talks." Everyone knew, who read these "Transit Talks" that they were directed against the strikers. The publication of this was black treachery on the part of a Socialist newspaper. At this point the chairman, Comrade Higgins, handed De Leon the paper in which the ad. appeared. De Leon, after reading part of the ad. aloud, held it aloft and said, "Here it is! Who can deny the proof? AND EVERY WORD IS A DELIBERATE STAB IN THE BACK OF THE STRIKERS." The treachery was further emphasized by the explanation of the "Tageblatt" that it had a CONTRACT with the Transit Company. Blood money for the betrayal. The applause was general, though the audience was composed mainly of S. P. members and sympathizers.

There were no further interruptions as one was enough for them. A great many questions were asked and answered after the lecture. The questions were written on cards and passed up to the platform by the ushers. This is a good way of handling questions, as the lecturer has more time, not having to listen to the usual rambling talk of the questioner, and

more people have the opportunity of getting their point settled.

R. McL.

Philadelphia, Pa., November 21.

## LABOR'S 'RIGHT' TO SLAVE AS IT 'PLEASES.'

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed please find clipping from the local "Daily News," November 3, which depicts an improved method of keeping tab on wage slaves. It would appear that capitalism is absolutely shameless.

Alexander Ralph.

San Francisco, Calif., November 13.

(Enclosure.)

Editor Daily News:

A condition closely akin to serfdom existing under feudalism is again being inaugurated in one of the modern penitentiaries of this city, and is being accentuated with the aid of modern appliances.

The Palace Hotel Co. proposes to have their waiters photographed in a group. This is a condition of their employment, and whenever any one of them gains the ill-will of the management it becomes an easy matter to blacklist him throughout this country. I mentioned the word "penitentiary," and though the modern hotel affords comforts to its guests far beyond the dreams of ancient idealists, yet some of these institutions are worse than prisons for their employees. Said employees are not driven at the point of a gun, but with the lash of hunger, the fear of loss of employment.

About two years ago the manager of said concern made a similar attempt at the Fairmont Hotel, and because some of the waiters objected to a rogues' gallery, perhaps to be followed by Bertillon measurements and thumb-prints, they were blacklisted by said management. It is due to lack of proper organization that some of the men submit to being accorded the treatment of criminals.

Hoping to receive your valuable space for this, I am, respectfully yours,

One of the Victims.

## ARTIFICIAL POUND CAKE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—It is quite a revelation that is going on at present under the direction of Commissioner of Accounts Fosdick of New York City, in the matter of rotten eggs used in bakeries. A pity it is that food adulteration always affects the working class.

No doubt many thought that concentrated capital and machinery told the whole story in cheapened production. It is so in many instances, but not in this "new industry" of sophisticated foods. Artificial pound cake factories have sprung up like mushrooms. It even puzzled me, an all around baker for thirty years, to see how cheaply they could make that cake. But I must confess, I never learned the art of poisoning.

For the enlightenment of cake-eaters, I herewith give the formula as used by the honest baker of pound cake. This dainty derives its name from the ingredients being used pound for pound. The prices attached are wholesale and whatever costs less than that is not fit to eat. One can see the mixture, when baked, produces four pounds of cake, costing 14½ cents per pound, labor not included, and sold in respectable bakeries at 25 cents per pound:

1 lb. Butter .....	25c.
1 " Eggs .....	25c.
1 " Sugar .....	5½c.
1 " Flour .....	2½c.

Total .....

But the wholesale prices of the modern manufactured pound cake (?) are about this way:

Contaminated fats or "Standard Oil Butter" .....	10c.
Rotten eggs .....	4c.
Allow sugar instead of saccharine .....	5½c.
Flour .....	2½c.
Total .....	22c.

To this 2 cents must be added for the artificial coloring, chemical flavors, and acids to extract the smell of the rotten eggs. This brings the cost of the average pound of that mixture up to 6 cents.

Of course, our modern captain of industry must make money, otherwise he would not be in business. This cake is sold to all kinds of stores, groceries, delicatessens, department houses, and even some bakeries, at 10, 11, and 12 cents per pound. And there it is prominently displayed, all varnished, tarnished, talked up, and sold for the enormous price of 20 cents per pound; adulterated, poisoned stuff not fit for to be eaten by dogs.

But such is "brains" and "push." Honest producers of food have to make way for adulterators. Let us work and hope that the time will soon arrive, when the workers will come together on the industrial as well as on the political field and install a system where shoddy clothes, poisonous food, and crooked officials are an impossibility, and life will be worth living.

Gustav Langner.

Milford, Conn., November 18.

## DAILY PEOPLE FESTIVAL

### INSPIRING GATHERING OF S. L. P. MEN AND FRIENDS.

Grand Central Palace Thanksgiving scene of Great Rejoicing—Festival as a success, Outdoors Former Events—Splendid All Day Program—Greetings from B. Reinstein at St. Louis—Crowd Thoroughly Enjoys Itself.

Inspiration and refreshment came to every Socialist Labor Party man and woman who met on Thanksgiving in Grand Central Palace at the festival arranged by Section New York for the benefit of the Daily People. It was as the tonic which enlivens after an arduous campaign which the Party members were treated to as they saw the increased attendance at this festival. For the numbers exceeded those of last spring's affair held for the same purpose by twenty-five per cent., and outstripped the attendance of a year ago by fifty per cent. And, regarding the receipts from the bazaar and fair, it was easily seen that in nearly every department a gain over previous figures was recorded.

But those are matters financial. It was a happy host which came from far and near, from New Haven, Bridgeport, Philadelphia, and the nearby towns of New Jersey, to Grand Central Palace to enjoy themselves for the day and evening, and happily were they entertained by the many and varied features which were arranged. Was it the musical program which gratified the desire for amusement most? Was it dancing? Was it the comradely intermingling of the large crowd? It's hard to say, for each brought along a splendid exhilaration of its own. It's about the best guess to say that all combined harmoniously to render the grand event one great big round of pleasure.

The afternoon concert by members of the Metropolitan Opera House and Philharmonic Orchestras, under the direction of Mr. Leo Schulz, was an excellent performance. It seemed as though Mr. Schulz's conducting was more spirited and dashing even than on former occasions. The two orchestra numbers which appeared best were (a) and (b) of No. 2, the former, a Serenade by Moszkowsky, and the latter Von Blon's "Whispering Among the Flowers." The selection from "Aida" was brilliant. Mr. Schulz's cello solo evoked great applause for its masterly rendition, and he was called for an encore. The other artists, Mr. Leopold Winkler, piano; Miss Ella Kalova, violin; and Miss Cora Remington, soprano, carried off honors in their roles. Miss Remington was given a tremendous ovation after her song from "Mignon."

When the revolutionary song, "L'Internationale" was played a good part of the audience, recognizing the inspiring strains, rose to their feet. The anthem was well played and well received. During the intermission between the numbers of the program, a telegram was read from Boris Reinstein, the Daily People's correspondent at the A. F. of L. convention in St. Louis. It was a message greeting the S. L. P. men and women assembled at this affair, and it was taken up with great cheering. The despatch read:

"I. C. Fraina,

"Care Daily People,

"25 City Hall Place, N. Y.

"Am with you in spirit. Wish all men and women assembled at the Festival, and friends throughout America could be with me to watch the Gompers machine in operation at the convention here to realize how firmly entrenched capitalism is, and how great and urgent the mission of the Socialist Labor press is, the pillar of the Social Revolution in America."

"The Socialist party shrinks before the enormous task; it leaves Gompers in undisputed possession of the key to capitalist fortress and seeks only political victories and leads proletariat to catastrophe."

"Urge all to redouble efforts and sacrifices for the Party press, which must, can and will break the spell and hold of the labor misleaders on the American proletariat, and pilot them to freedom."

There was one disappointment, and this time it was again the moving picture man who was at fault. Owing to some stupid oversight, neglect or rank carelessness, the picture machine company had not made the proper arrangements with the authorities in licensing their operator, and therefore no scenes were shown. This disappointment was the more keen because some unusually fitting themes had been selected for exhibition.

After the concert, which ended about six o'clock, there was a great rush for things eatable. The restaurant and the tea-corner were special points commanding the guests. A

## LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

T. C. P., PECOS, TEX.—The best way to express gratitude to The People for the articles it publishes is to enlarge the circle of its readers. The times demand the education that The People imparts. Spread it.

A. S., MILWAUKEE, WIS.—There were two regiments of the militia (National Guard) of New York that "mutilated" during the war with Spain. One was the New York City Seventh Regiment, the "crack regiment." It refused to go to war because it would not do to leave the city unguarded against "riots." The other was the Twenty-third (Brooklyn); it had to go through some process or other of reconstruction.

S. H., NEW YORK.—Our information is to the effect that witnesses summoned by the State are not remunerated.

S. S., NEW YORK.—A Socialist Congressman, tho' being only one man, can accomplish what one cat does in a garret. After she has caught a number of mice, the rest become leary, at least less venturesome, and they may even leave the premises. A Socialist Congressman who is a MAN can do that much—prevent things that otherwise would go through swimmingly; or present such obstacles by virtue of the force of his arguments (Socialism holds all the trumps) as to very materially check outrage.—Next question next week.

J. O. M., SYDNEY, N. S. W.—The job is unpleasant. Shall undertake it some time when in a mood to undertake distasteful jobs—to please friends.

S. A., BERKELEY, CALIF.—Understanding by the term "social value" in the question: "How, under Socialism, will the social value of one's product be determined?" to mean the amount that comes to one for his private use from the joint wealth produced by society, the answer is:

First—One's contribution to the joint stock of wealth is determined statistically by the relative number of applicants for specific occupations. For instance: If coal miners and street

car conductors are needed, and only 100 applicants are for mining and 500 for conducting, it follows that one hour mining consumes the vital tissue that is consumed by five hours conducting. Hence one hour of the one would indicate an equivalent of five hours contribution by the other to the common fund.

Second—That point being ascertained, there remains to ascertain how much of the total joint product must be taken away from the total fund as not available for private use. For instance: wear and tear of machinery; matters of public use as streets, etc., etc.

The consideration of Nos. 1 and 2 determines the social value due to the individual.—Next question next week.

M. A. O., SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.—The Copenhagen Congress dealt with nothing of real importance. The report published by the chairman of the S. L. P. delegation contained all that was valuable. There was nothing more for lengthy report.

J. W., NEW YORK.—The Rand School excludes the Daily People from its files as the Roman Catholic political machine excludes Voltaire and Marx. An institution that discriminates against a publication is not entitled to civilities from such a publication, as would be the announcements.

H. J., BOSTON, MASS.—To send a clipping with the statement that it is from such and such a paper "of to-day" without dating the letter is as bad as to send the clipping without any date. All others whom it may concern take notice.

R. K., CLEVELAND, O.; J. M. R., TORONTO, CANADA; T. H. J., SYRACUSE, N. Y.; G. G., ELGIN, WASH.; T. H. B., NEW YORK; M. F., NEW HAVEN, CONN.; R. C., SPOKANE, WASH.; H. R., HARTMAN, MICH.; S. A. J. S., HARTFORD, CONN.; H. H., OMAHA, NEB.; B. H. H., JR., MILWAUKEE, WIS.; R. C., SPOKANE, WASH.; W. E. McC., ST. PAUL, MINN.; S. A. J. S., HARTFORD, CONN.; O. R., WEST HAVEN, CONN.; J. O. J., SEARON, PA.; J. S., ST. LOUIS, MO.—Matter received.

steadily call upon their stores was made and the tea corner especially was taxed to minister to its patrons.

The bazaar was resplendent with the numerous fine presents displayed on the tables. A large supply of beautiful cushions covered the stand allotted to these valuable gifts, the peculiar and skilful products of the lady donors. And there were a goodly number of sofa pillows making the rounds of the audience.

The artistic piece sent in from the State of Washington, a painting of Mt. Ranier, created much competition among a nice-sized group, each of whom was determined to secure the picture.

A new feature introduced this year was a microscopical exhibit. To be seen here were numerous biological specimens. And the demand to view the pieces was so great that the price per view had to be advanced. The exhibit was a distinct success and a good money-getter.

From the fair the crowd turned to the dance floor, and after dances it turned to the fair again. The ball room music proved entrancing to the many devotees of the waltz and two-step, and for several hours from eight o'clock on, the numerous couples spun around the waxed floor such as only the S. L. P. men and women and their friends can do.

When the last notes of the "Good-night" air were stilling early in the morning, the active ones of Section New York and adjoining organizations were thoroughly satisfied with the outcome of this most recent historic festival of the Daily People.

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